The Outlook

SEPTEMBER 29, 1920

CO-RESPONSIBILITY VERSUS SYNDICALISM

SINCE September 1 several hundred industrial plants in Italy have been seized by the workers, who are trying to operate them. The seizure followed the refusal of employers to grant wage increases and a share in the management of the factories. The Italian Confederation of Labor advised the workers to secure their control of these plants by legislation.

This advice gave Prime Minister Giolitti his chance. He went from Rome to Milan, where the greatest industrial disorder had occurred, and proposed two plans, both of which have been accepted by the employers and employed.

The first plan was to reach an accord between them on these points:

1. An increase in daily wages of four lire (normally eighty cents).
2. A week's vacation yearly with full pay.
3. Two days' full pay each year for men dismissed after three years' service.

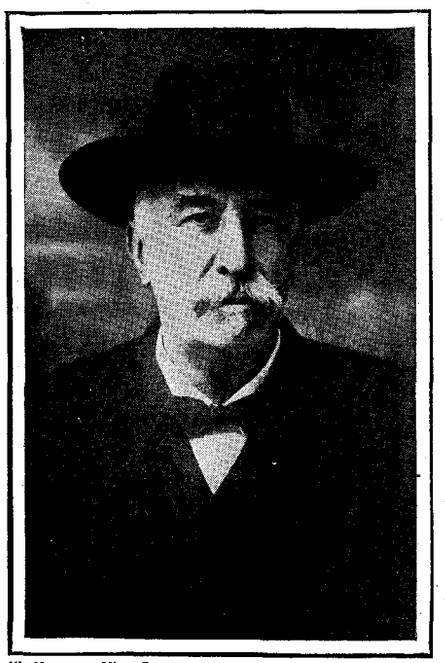
The points on which an accord is still to be reached are:

1. Claims by the workmen that they should be paid for the period of the strike.
2. Refusal of the employers to re-employ persons guilty of violence.

The second plan is a consequence of the advice of the Italian Confederation of Labor and includes the appointment of a commission to consider the workmen's proposals to participate in the technical, financial, and disciplinary management of factories; the commission's report to be made the basis for a bill embodying the workers' demands. The Premier admitted that recent evidence had necessitated "a radical revision of the relations hitherto existing between capital and labor," and, while not justifying any seizures, adds: "It is necessary to make it possible for the workers to contribute towards the functioning of a firm to the extent of giving them a true sense of responsibility."

In rejoinder to the alarmist statements of certain American correspondents in Italy, the Italian Government states that it regards the employees' activities as only an incident in the agitation for economic reform, and as having no political bearing. Of course the Giolitti Government will grant everything in its power to secure continuance in office. While careful not to defend the Federation of Labor's seizure of factories, it has won the support of the labor element by showing itself sympathetic to certain of their demands, Signor Labriola, Minister of Labor, being specially notable in this direction.

The workers demanded syndicalism; they get reciprocal responsibility. They attempted a Russian-like control of industry. But they themselves have shrunk back from extremism. At a great Socialist meeting in Milan an "order" from Lenine, the head of the Bolshevist Government, was read, directing "Italian comrades who adhere to the Third Internationale" to begin a revolution at once. Resentment at this foreign interference defeated the extremists.



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GIOVANNI GIOLITTI, PREMIER OF ITALY

A "BON MARCHEUR"

RECENTLY it became evident that President Deschanel, of France, was seriously incapacitated. He has now sent his resignation to the Prime Minister, who has transmitted it to Parliament, which, at Versailles, will hold a joint session to elect M. Deschanel's successor. The whole affair may be settled by the time this issue of The Outlook reaches its readers.

Frenchmen have a natural pride in calling attention to the celerity and orderliness of their Presidential elections as contrasted with ours. We can better appreciate this contrast now that we are in the midst of one of our long-drawn-out, turbulent campaigns.

There is no dearth of good Presidential material in France, but, as at the time of the latest election, when most people expected to see M. Clemenceau's triumph, so at present there is but one commanding personality—a personality in its resourcefulness, bluntness, and vigor very like the "Tiger's." We refer of course to M. Alexandre Millerand.

Ever since M. Deschanel's illness became apparent M. Millerand has received the compliment of being urged by many men of many political traits to become a Presidential candidate. Until the date of this writing he has steadily refused, saying, "No, no, and again no." He has finally accepted, doubtless because he has received assurances from "the powers that be" in Parliament that they will bring about a change in the French Constitution, giving the President more authority and power, particularly in the appointment of Ministers and in the dissolution of Parliament. No one can blame M. Millerand for preferring to remain Prime Minister, in which office he has abundant chance to display his well-known activity, as opposed to becoming President, in which office he would find the necessity for a distasteful retirement. Particularly is this true when the Premier considers his record. During the recent crisis, covering a considerable number of months, France has been fighting single-handed for the maintenance of the terms of the Treaty of Versailles and their rigorous application to Germany, as against the pacifist and even pro-Bolshevik tendencies displayed by England and Italy. In this conflict M. Millerand has repeatedly "won out" as against the most adroit English and Italian statesmen. No wonder that the French Premier likes such a game.

It is but the latest evidence, however, of the "going concern," Alexandre Millerand. Some one asked him one day what his favorite recreation was. He replied, "*Je suis un bon marcheur.*" He has been—as student, lawyer, municipal councilor, Deputy, Minister of

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International

THE SCENE OF THE EXPLOSION AT BROAD AND WALL STREETS, NEW YORK CITY—THE SUB-TREASURY AT THE UPPER RIGHT HAND

Commerce, of Public Works, of War, Premier. He has always been an aggressive progressive.

THE AALAND ISLANDS

SWEDEN and Finland recently referred the Aaland Islands issue to the League of Nations for an opinion. A commission of three eminent jurists—one French, one Dutch, one Swiss—were set to work. It has just decided that the League can act as arbitrator, and its opinion foreshadows a decision against Finland.

The Aaland Islands are some eighty in number. On the map they are shown as half-way between Sweden and Finland at the entrance to the Gulf of Bothnia.

Geographically they belong to Finland; the dense archipelago links them to the Finnish coast—in winter, indeed, there is access across the ice to the mainland. There is no such access to Sweden, for winter and summer there lies a deep stretch of open sea between, which practically never freezes.

Ethnologically, however, the islands belong to Sweden. The population is almost wholly Swedish, and at the recent plebiscite voted ninety-five per cent for the Swedish flag.

Until 1809 the islands belonged to Sweden. Russia then took them and attached them to Finland. By the Treaty of Paris of 1856 it was agreed that the islands should not be fortified or used as a military base.

The Finns contend that they are necessary to Finland on strategic grounds. It remains to be seen, when League decisions defeat popular hopes, whether the Finns will pay any more attention to them than have some other peoples.

MURDER BY WHOLESALE

THE callousness and brutal heartlessness toward human suffering that lay beneath the Wall Street outrage in New York City is almost beyond belief. The crime was so planned as to strike at the lives of ordinary, every-day people.

That it was a crime and not an accident seems clearly proved—negatively by the absence of testimony that explosives were being transported for legitimate purposes; positively by the many iron slugs cut from window weights and used for deadly missiles, by the mailing almost simultaneously with the explosion of wild Anarchistic posters, and by many minor circumstances. Investigation in the week following this wholesale murder of Thursday, September 16, was not productive of convincing evidence as to its authorship. That more than one person was concerned is almost certain. There are many possible lines of inquiry still open, and reasonable hope that they may lead to the capture of the perpetrators. One singular discovery was that made by a reporter, of nearly four hundred pounds of high explosive in a half-submerged barge at Plum Beach, Long Island, near a place where police two months ago found other quantities of similar stuff. Whether this was the store from which the explosives used in the recent crime were drawn or whether the barge loaded with deadly cargo drifted there at the time of the Black Tom calamity is a matter of conjecture. Other possible sources of information may exist in identifying the shoes of the horse which drew the wagon carrying the bomb or infernal machine, or by getting on the trail of the men who drove the wagon and set the fuse or time-clock by which the explosion was brought about at exactly twelve o'clock, just opposite the J. P. Morgan building and close to the United States Assay Office.

The total number of deaths from the explosion was reported on September 21 as having reached thirty-five. More than a hundred and fifty persons were injured by falling glass, fragments of doors and windows, and bits of metal.

Chief W. J. Flynn, of the Department of Justice's Secret Service, is quoted as attributing the crime to Communists and Anarchists who wish to bring about a reign of terror, and who planned this horror, not against individuals, but as a way of "making a demonstration." To hunt down "Reds" of this type, to keep them out of the country if they come from abroad, and to convict and punish them or drive them out of the country if they are already here, is simply a matter of self-preservation.

"There are evils in our social system," said Mr. W. H. Johnstone, President of the International Association of Mechanics, at its opening session last week, "but we can cure every social ill and remedy every abuse in an orderly manner and without the use of force."

THE FIVE SOCIALISTS RETURN AND DEPART

ANOTHER chapter has been added to one of the most dramatic incidents in recent American political history. On September 20 the five Socialists expelled from the New York State Legislature at the instance of Speaker Sweet again took their seats in that august, if reactionary, body. A day later they were again out on the street.

The story can be briefly told. Governor Smith called a special session of the Legislature to consider the housing problem in New York State. On the ground that it would be contrary to every principle of justice to leave five Assembly districts in New York City without representation at this session, he also called a special election to fill the five vacancies. The expelled Socialists stood for re-election and were tri-

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umphantly returned by increased majorities over Fusion candidates of the Republican and Democratic parties.

Opposition to the seating of the Socialists was on the opening day of the new session apparently doomed to defeat. The opinion of the Assembly seemed at least indicated in part by the parliamentary jockeying of the opening day. Action on a resolution calling for the ousting of the Socialists was temporarily postponed by being referred to the Judiciary Committee. Assemblyman Cuvillier asked for a slow roll-call on this motion to refer. "All in favor of a slow call will rise," said Speaker Sweet. And only Cuvillier rose.

During the overnight adjournment, however, the Sweet forces gathered strength, and on the following day three of the Socialists were expelled by a vote of 90 to 45, after a debate which lasted eleven hours. The two Socialists who were not expelled thereupon promptly resigned. We shall have more to say concerning this episode in a subsequent issue of The Outlook.

The expulsion of the five Socialists at the last session of the Legislature has been condemned by practically every Republican and Democrat whose opinion is worth listening to.

Radicals who preach "direct action," so-called liberals who have lost faith in American institutions and American political parties, will doubtless seek to make capital of this latest exhibition of this second expulsion. They will be wrong in principle and fact. Time will show that the ballot-box is still available for the vindication of any just cause and that the American electorate will, in the long run, force its representatives to swing back to the lodestone of American ideals.

International

THE TRAGEDY IN WALL STREET—BODIES OF VICTIMS WAITING REMOVAL

THE PRIMARY BATTLE IN ILLINOIS

ONE of the stormiest of all primary elections and the most bitter and sensational contest in the history of Illinois was the primary election of September 15. It was a battle between the Thompson-Lundin organization of Chicago, seeking to extend its power from the city to the State, and the so-called Harmony Group, led by Governor Lowden, Attorney-General Brundage, and former Governor Deneen.

A goodly number of people in Chicago and a great majority of people "down State" believe that the organization of which Mayor Thompson, of Chicago, is the head was, to say the least, unpatriotic during the war. The Thompson organization is regarded as the best imitation of Tammany Hall in the West. Its opponents, attacking it on the grounds of extravagance, coarse spoils methods, and lack of patriotism, raised a cry, "No Tammany for Illinois."

On the other side, Mayor Thompson accused the opposing group of being subservient to public utility corporations and talked much of profiteering.

To oppose the Thompson ticket there were many candidates, and unless the opposition to the Thompson organization was to be defeated by division it was necessary for the leaders to get together and select a ticket on which the decent elements of the party could unite. Of course this meant that the Republican voter had no other choice than that between candidates backed by the Thompson group and the candidates backed by the Lowden group. A voter of progressive inclination was not naturally drawn to either. The Thompson candidate for Governor, Len Small, seemed at first to have been successful over his opponent, Lieutenant-Governor Oglesby, son of the Oglesby who was Governor of Illinois during the closing days of the Civil War. On the other hand, the Lowden candidate for Senator, who was opposed by Frank L. Smith, a real estate man and banker, seems to have been successful. The Lowden candidate was William B. McKinley, at present Representative in Congress and head of the Illinois traction system operating an extensive network of car lines in central Illinois. Mr. McKinley has had a reputation as a very conservative, not to say reactionary, man in Congress. He was one of the most bitter opponents of the Progressives in 1912; and yet to those who look for good government his success under the circumstances is a satisfaction.

A reader of The Outlook in Illinois, after this experience with the primary as it works there, expresses in a letter his conviction that the fallacies of the primary system as applied to National matters having been pretty thoroughly demonstrated before the Presidential conventions, its failure in the State has been demonstrated in Illinois. He is led to ask if the faults of the convention system were not the faults of a people whose political conscience was asleep and if we might not now safely give it another trial, trusting to the awakened conscience of the people to make it function aright. It brings up again the question Mr. Pulsifer asked in his article a few weeks ago in The Outlook on "The Pig and the Primary," whether there cannot be devised a combination of the convention and the primary which will more nearly approximate popular rule in party organizations?

The Democratic primary was not nearly so vigorous as the Republican. It resulted in the nomination of James Hamilton Lewis, former Senator, for the Governorship, and Peter A. Waller, a glove manufacturer, for the Senatorship. Mr. Waller was nearly "nosed out" by Robert Emmet Burke, who is anti-prohibition, anti-Wilson, anti-League, and in favor of independence for Ireland. Mr. Waller's success is a victory, though a narrow one, for the Wilson wing of the party.

THE NOMINATIONS IN NEW YORK AND CONNECTICUT

IN New York State the primary result was a complete victory in both parties for the organization ticket. Both Repub-

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licans and Democrats had assembled in unofficial conventions and named candidates for the State tickets. Senator Thompson undertook to compete with the designated candidate for the Republican nomination for Governor, Mr. Miller, but was decisively defeated. Nevertheless he had the consolation of winning the Prohibition nomination, as did the woman, Mrs. Boule, who shared with Mr. Payne the opposition to Senator Wadsworth for the United States Senatorship.

The Democratic ticket as designated at the unofficial convention was likewise approved by the Democrats, who did not cast nearly as many votes in their primary as the Republicans did in theirs.

In Connecticut Senator Brandegee, a vigorous opponent of the Wilson plan of the League of Nations, has been renominated for the Senatorship. A good many advocates of the League hoped that he would be forced to face a Democratic nominee who would really contest the election with him. Such a man as they had in mind was Homer S. Cummings, former Chairman of the Democratic National Committee, who made the "keynote speech" in support of the League of Nations at the Democratic National Convention at San Francisco. At the last moment, however, Mr. Cummings withdrew his name. It is a matter of surmise whether he was influenced by the results of the Maine election, which was overwhelmingly in favor of the Republicans.

The Republican nominee for Governor in Connecticut is Everett Lake, a former Progressive.

A SAFETY MARGIN FOR SUFFRAGE

QUARRELS over the legality of the Suffrage Amendment to the Federal Constitution occasioned by the criticisms of the method by which it was ratified in Tennessee bid fair to receive their quietus. The Legislature of the State of Connecticut has now ratified the Amendment by a vote of 216 to 11 in the House and 33 to 0 in the Senate. Again, as in Tennessee, certain legal difficulties arose. The special session of the Legislature at which this vote was taken was called to change the State law for new women voters. Although Governor Holcomb warned the Legislature that certain complications might occur if the Amendment was ratified at this session, the Legislature chose to disregard this warning. But a second special session of the Legislature has been called for September 21, and if there is any doubt as to the legality of the first vote of ratification, the overwhelming majority by which it was passed definitely assures its final acceptance at this second session.

AMERICAN SHIPS FOR AMERICAN GOODS

THE Jones Bill, now law, makes provision for the upbuilding of an American merchant marine. The bill aims to realize the hopes of those who have long labored to bring about an ample and efficient marine, to serve as a naval auxiliary as well as a commercial carrier, to consist of suitable types of vessels equipped in the best possible way, all to be ultimately owned and operated privately by American citizens.

This is not the case now. During the war German tonnage was driven from the sea and Allied tonnage had to be converted to war craft. Congress then began its great programme of Government shipbuilding.

The Act provides for the termination of Government ownership and operation, orders the sale of the present Government fleet, enlarges the membership of the Shipping Board in its control of existing Government shipping and its encouragement of new lines, and gives economic advantages and preferential rates to goods exported or imported in American ships.

These discriminatory provisions, however, conflict with no less than twenty-nine treaties with twenty-four States and are sure to provoke resentment. Under the Act the treaties must be abrogated and new agreements made.

As a matter of fact, practically all treaties provide in their text for a change or denunciation in part or in whole. Such change is constantly being undertaken, and without publicity. It is not commonly known that since 1914 our Government has notified sixteen nations of its wish to abrogate various treaties. In practically every case our desire was acceded to without special adjustment.

Our new discriminatory policy even extends to the exemption from payment of excess profits and war profits taxes, provided the money so retained is put into the building of new ships in American yards. All these measures to fight foreign competition have been taken to restore the legislative advantage under which our maritime supremacy was obtained a century ago. Because of the repeal of this legislation there ensued, it is claimed, a steady decline, so that in 1910 less than nine per cent of American overseas imports and exports were carried in American vessels. As a result of the present absence of foreign competition, together with our own Governmental effort, we have now nearly two-thirds of the carrying trade between our own and foreign ports.

WE SAY A GOOD WORD FOR THE POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT

NEWS despatches report that the Post Office Department has awarded three contracts for postal service by airplane between Pittsburgh and St. Louis via Columbus, Cincinnati, and Indianapolis; between New York and Chicago via Harrisburg, Pittsburgh, and Fort Wayne; and between New York and Atlanta via Washington, Raleigh, North Carolina, and Columbia, South Carolina. The planes which are to be built for this service will also carry passengers. The planes for day service will be equipped with comfortable wicker chairs, while those for night service will have sleeping accommodations.

The Post Office has been frequently criticised for its experimental work in aerial transportation. The carrying of mails by airplane has been denounced in Congress as a useless extravagance.

International

A RELAY STATION OF THE TRANSCONTINENTAL AERIAL MAIL

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CARTOONS OF THE WEEK

AS SELECTED BY OUTLOOK READERS

(See offer on page 173)

Reynolds in the Tacoma Ledger

WHAT'LL I DO WITH HIM?

From C. H. Boynton, Seattle, Washington

Satterfield in the Wilmington (Del.) Evening Journal

HISTORY OF AMERICAN POLITICS
HOW TO VOTE
WHEN TO VOTE
SAVE YOUR COUNTRY AND VOTE FOR ME
VOTE FOR HARDING
VOTE FOR COX
MY CARD, LADY.
SPEECH BY HON. MR. JINKS ON POLITICIANS I HAVE MET
D. SATTERFIELD JR.

MOTHER'S BUSY NOW

From Kathryn Kerr, Wilmington, Delaware

Bushnell in the Evanston (Ill.) News Index

'TWA'N'T SECH A SMART SPELL BACK WHEN COMMON OL' ELDERBERRIES WERE FREE FER TH' PICKIN'!—THERE'S A REASON

From Chas. M. Crowe, Dallas, Texas

Berryman in the Washington Evening Star

THE SPEECHLESS ONE

From Mrs. A. D. Hine, Vienna, Virginia

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To us the criticisms seem beside the mark. Whatever criticisms may be made of the methods of operation of the mail plane, and it is entirely natural to presume that under the circumstances some such criticism may be legitimately offered, we believe that the Post Office is to be heartily commended for its recognition of the need of developing aerial transportation as a great commercial asset and as a vital element in our programme of National defense.

Those who are anxious to learn what other governments and countries are doing for commercial aviation should secure a copy of "Aerial Transport," by G. Holt Thomas, published by Hodder & Stoughton, London.

THE JENNY LIND CENTENARY

A NOVELTY in anniversaries is to be the celebration in New York City of the birth centenary of Jenny Lind, the "Swedish Nightingale." The birth date, October 6, will be honored by a Jenny Lind Concert at which Miss Frieda Hempel, of the Metropolitan Opera Company, will sing the songs heard by the vast audience which greeted Jenny Lind's first appearance in America, September 11, 1850, at Castle Garden, now the Aquarium, in New York City's Battery Park. Miss Hempel will use the very piano employed at that first concert, and will wear a replica of the gown Jenny Lind then wore.

When one names Jenny Lind, one thinks instantly of P. T. Barnum. Beyond doubt he was the greatest press agent ever known. He has been called also the greatest of humbugs, but, as a matter of fact, like all good publicity men of our own day, he knew perfectly well that the way to succeed is to give the public its money's worth. He certainly did this when he acted as impresario for Jenny Lind. She had a great reputation and a marvelous voice, and Barnum's success in working up excitement about her appearance was due to the fact that the attraction was genuine and unique. He offered $200 for a prize ode (Bayard Taylor won the prize); sold tickets by auction at prices from $653 down—the buyers were usually keen press agents for themselves; had his *diva*, when she landed, driven under triumphal arches amid the acclamations of enormous crowds, and engineered a serenade to her by musical societies escorted by hundreds of red-shirted firemen.

All this excitement evidently failed to spoil Jenny Lind. She was not only a great singer, but a simple, sincere, and warm-hearted woman. It is said that

Bain News Service

JENNY LIND

she refused one suitor to her hand because he wanted her to continue her career while she wished to make a home, and another because she found that his family disapproved of her stage career. With the money she made (her first American trip yielded her about $175,000) she was generous; she helped many poor girls to study music, and gave scores of thousands of dollars in charity. One writer, Mr. F. B. Pitney, in the New York "Tribune," answers the question, Why a Jenny Lind Centenary? by saying: "Jenny Lind is a tradition, a legend, a fetish, an idol, and an ideal."

AN ACCOUNTING WITH THE STEWARD

"THERE are now two great and several minor parties in the United States. . . . What are their principles, their distinctive tenets, their tendencies? . . . This is what a European is always asking of intelligent Republicans and intelligent Democrats. He is always asking because he never gets an answer. . . . Neither party has . . . any clean-cut principles, any distinctive tenets. Both have traditions. Both claim to have tendencies. . . . But . . . tenets and policies, points of political doctrine and points of political practice, have all but vanished."

That is the impression which our American parties have made upon the most acute and most thoroughly informed of writers upon American institutions, Viscount Bryce, as recorded in his "American Commonwealth."

Certainly in the sense in which British political parties have principles and tenets, the two great parties of America lack them. Neither can be called conservative or progressive, reactionary or radical.

As a matter of fact, however, there is a difference between the parties in America that is not merely the natural difference between the Ins and the Outs. It is the difference, not of political creed, but of political temperament. It is the difference between the idealist with all his virtues and his faults and the realist with all his faults and his virtues.

There are times when a community needs especially the service of those who are prolific in theories and in ideas, fertile in suggestion, ready with plans and projects. There are other times when the community needs especially the service of those who are competent in performance, able to do well the task in hand, practiced in achievement. Thus it happens that the voters of America have sometimes turned to one of the two great parties, sometimes to the other.

For nearly eight years they have intrusted the conduct of National affairs to the party whose temperament is that of the theorist, the idealist, the visionary, and the doctrinaire. It is the party that was quickest to see the idealism of the French Revolution, and quickest to fall prey to its vagaries. It is the party most inclined to the cause of secession, whether in America or in the Philippines or in Great Britain or on the Continent of Europe, and proclaims that as an ideal under the name of self-determination, blinking the facts and the difficulties while sympathizing with the aims and ambitions of struggling peoples. It is the party that is temperamentally more interested in a plan or theory than in its workings. And it has had in the office of Chief Executive a man typical of its temperament.

Now, according to the American practice, at the end of a second four-year period it is again called upon to make a reckoning with its employer, the American people.

The fact that it offers not the present steward but another man as a candidate for the stewardship does not alter the fact that the coming election will be a verdict upon that party's record. The Democratic party has accepted Mr. Wilson's Administration as its own, and Mr. Cox has indorsed the Wilson Administration and given the people every reason to believe that the standards of Mr. Wilson's stewardship are his own.

It is this record and the impression that it has made upon the people on which the voters will render their judgment. All questions of policy, such as

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the League of Nations, and all questions of personality, such as Mr. Wilson's methods of conducting his office and Mr. Cox's fitness to be his successor, are involved in this question of the party's record.

It must not be forgotten that this party of theorists within two years of its accession to power enacted a body of law which constitutes a programme of distinctive achievement; nor that it was in power when the country fought in the greatest war of history and helped to win the victory; but it is as a party of theory that it has made its record for the most part, and it is as a party of theory that it submits its claim for a renewal of authority.

Mr. Wilson offered himself to his country as the exponent of a body of theory which he termed "the new freedom." That theory involved a denunciation of "government by commission" and such an indictment against business as organized in America as to constitute distrust of business men as business men. On becoming President, Mr. Wilson proclaimed as his theory the principle of pacifism in the most emphatic manner possible by selecting as Secretary of State Mr. Bryan, who declared that as long as he was in office America would never fight. In dealing with Mexico, Mr. Wilson proclaimed as a theory the right of Mexicans to make as much disturbance and shed as much blood as they pleased without interference. He suffered himself to be offered as a candidate for re-election by his party on the theory that he would keep us out of war. A man who in theory was a pacifist he kept throughout the war as Secretary of War to be the administrative head of the greatest army America ever raised. He urged upon Europe "Peace without victory," with the result which his political opponent, Mr. Hughes, has described as "Victory without peace." Throughout the war he showed his chief interest not in the practical overcoming of the enemy by arms but in the proclamation of a programme of Fourteen Points as a theoretic basis for peace. Finally, he bound up his own fortune and the fortune of his party with the theoretical proposal for a League of Nations which he has declined to modify, which he has failed so far to persuade his country to accept, and which he desires to be the subject of a great and solemn referendum.

Although his theory has not always been fulfilled in his practice, although he surpassed all other Presidents in resorting to the use of commissions, although he intrusted to leaders in "big business" some of the most responsible positions in arming and provisioning the country in war, although he did intervene in Mexico by bombarding one of its ports, although he allowed Mr. Bryan to retire and then asked Congress to declare war, and although when the time for making peace came even friends and supporters of his were disconcerted by the contradiction between the theories of the Fourteen Points and the accomplished facts, nevertheless it may be said that incident after incident cumulatively show Mr. Wilson's Administration to be based on theories.

It is such incidents in the record of the party and its leader during these past eight years that the people remember. They have a general impression of a stimulating personality who for a time was the leader of the political thought of the world. They think of the party in the terms of the record of this leader.

To that record there are at least three kinds of response:

First, there are those who are convinced that the Democratic party's theories as expounded by Mr. Wilson are good and should be approved; that whatever results have been inconsistent with those theories, and consequently bad, are to be deplored but are due not to the party and its leader but to opposition abroad and at home.

Second, there are those who believe that the theories are good but regard the results inconsistent with those theories as due to some failure on the part of the party and its leader.

Third, there are those who believe the theories are bad in themselves, that some of the results have been consequently bad because they have been attempts to exalt bad theories as ideals, with consequent disaster, and that some of the results have been good for the very reason that they have happened in spite of the theorists.

Those who believe that the country needs a further stimulus of theory, as well as those who believe that an Administration should be judged by the doctrines it professes rather than by its achievements, and who believe in the Wilson doctrines professed by the Democratic party and its candidate, will naturally vote for Mr. Cox.

Those who believe that the Wilson theories are lofty but who deplore at the same time the many results inconsistent with those theories will be divided. Some of these will vote for Mr. Cox on the ground that the Administration was a victim of circumstances it could not control. Others will vote against Mr. Cox on the ground that the Administration was the victim of its own weakness when it compromised its convictions.

Those who believe that the theories of the Administration, and in particular of Mr. Wilson, as indorsed by his party and his party's candidate, have been and are unsound, and that whatever good results were achieved were in spite of those theories and not because of them, will vote for Mr. Harding; that is, they will try another steward, and will look for the new steward in the party that is temperamentally less inclined to profess theories and more inclined to undertake practical tasks.

TALKING RED AND SEEING RED

AN unwelcome by-product in the advance of science and invention has been to make easy cowardly murder masquerading under the pretense of political revolution. It is unfortunately far from difficult for such dastardly enemies of law and order as those who planned and executed the Wall Street explosion in New York City to procure dangerous substances such as nitroglycerine and dynamite. These are used commercially in enormous quantities, as in excavations for buildings and in the oil-fields. Restrictions and laws, however stringent, do not prevent illicit or careless sale, or small thefts by which large quantities may be accumulated. It needs only moderate skill to handle such explosives safely and to arrange devices for their explosion at a given moment. Detection is difficult either before or after the crime. One lesson of the recent horror, therefore, is closer supervision over the distribution and use of explosives.

But there is an immense amount of inflammatory and explosive material other than dynamite in the world just now—heated argument, class hatred, the poisonous "direct action" appeal, the denunciation of all government, the undermining of democracy in favor of proletariat imperialism. The "intellectuals" who play with these rhetorical explosives in order to exploit their glib conceit and glowing oratory are morally guilty of the acts to which their words incite ignorant and reckless hearers. The hand may be that of a wild assassin while the impulse may be the heated brain of a theorist who would never endanger his own safety by overt acts.

On the other hand, there is always

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Ira D. Schwarz

DUDLEY DIGGES, HELEN WESTLEY, HENRY TRAVERS, AND MARGARET WYCHERLY IN "JANE CLEGG"

danger after such a terrible crime as that in Wall Street that the public mind may "see red" without discrimination. There are people who recognize no difference between an Emma Goldman and a John Spargo, to whom the name of Socialism is like a red cloth to a bull, who applauded the expulsion of the five New York Socialist members of the Assembly without even asking what the rule of free thought and fair play dictated. Such a lack of discrimination is in itself a danger, for it is reactionary in its effect.

Whoever may have incited the crime of September 16, its actual perpetrators were the vilest of assassins. They knew perfectly well that the banking houses and Government buildings would not fall before their attack; they knew that the danger to the "capitalists" was small; they knew that the shower of slugs and the rain of broken glass their infernal machine set loose would maim and murder scores of workingmen and workingwomen—clerks, girl stenographers, and innocent passers-by. An expert report by Mr. George S. Rice, of the Bureau of Mines, says that the intention of the perpetrators was not to destroy property but human life, that for this reason they chose the hour when the greatest number of people are out on the street, that the explosion was "the work of terrorists."

Terrorism never helped permanently any cause. The Germans found that out; our Anarchists and ultra-radicals can never succeed by wholesale murder. Their crime has stirred the country to its depths. In the future efforts to detect and punish criminals who seek to overthrow liberty by violence will be more rigorous and searching than ever before.

THREE PLAYS

OF plays recently performed with great success in New York, and we hope to be played before audiences in many parts of the country, there have been two extreme types. One may be called the play of structure; the other, the play of character. This does not mean that the play of structure lacks character or the play of character lacks structure; but each type is determined by its predominant quality.

What we characterize as a play of structure is "Jane Clegg." St. John Ervine, its author, has not set up a single character as a living statue on which the light of situations plays, bringing out the molding of his subject's personality, but has taken a group of people, as a composer might take a stringed quartette, and has played them against one another, with alternating consonance and dissonance, to a conclusion that is right because it is, or at least seems to be, inevitable. The story, if we undertook to tell it in outline form, would seem drab and depressing; but the play itself is not depressing except possibly to those who see only its superficial features, and such must be rare. Mr. Ervine has worked in the production of this play as every artist should work, whatever his material. He has not photographed life as he has seen it, though there is a verisimilitude in this play that is photographic; he has not drawn up a thesis and then used his characters to fool the audience into thinking it a story, though he leaves the auditor with an impression of truth that arguments cannot make. What he has done is to find in human lives and their environment, which to the ordinary observer would seem to be most unpromising, material out of which to erect a structure that has harmony and balance as convincing as that of a pure Gothic church or a great symphony. And he has enveloped that story with a humor that not only gives delight but evokes laughter. To call the woman whose name supplies the title good and strong and self-sacrificing, to call her husband worthless and contemptible, to call the old granny, his mother, sharp and sentimental and selfish, to call the two children symbols of the mother's and the granny's influence, to call the racing tout a refreshing exhibit of virtue reduced to its lowest terms though still human, and the bookkeeper virtue likewise reduced, though not downward, but outward by remoteness from anything compensatingly human, is to spoil the whole play; for it is to divert the mind from the real significance of the play as not a group of isolated figures exhibiting certain traits, but the progress of life as these particular people must live it. Not the least evidence of the greatness of this play is the fact that it has evidently produced upon the members of the very competent cast that played it an impression of its power as real as that received by the audience.

A notable illustration of that type of drama in which one character dominates is "Lightnin'." In this play Frank Bacon, author and actor, has delighted, and continues to delight, thousands of playgoers. Like Joseph Jefferson in "Rip Van Winkle" and David Warfield in "The Music Master," so in "Lightnin'" the man is the play. In all three cases, too, the attractiveness is in the gentle sweetness, the deliberate utterance, and the unforced humor that belong to the actor's personality. But Frank Bacon not only made the character he acts; he also made the play itself, building it up into its present form after several earlier attempts. His popular success came to him only after forty years of struggle in his profession. Frank Bacon as he appears in private life has little need of "make-up" to become the "Lightnin'" of the stage. Around the character, to be sure, are grouped odd and amusing incidents, situations, and people. But the play depends for its appeal, not on construction or dramatic tensity, but on the drawling, slow-moving, irresponsible, but altogether lovable and kind-hearted "Lightnin'." The play is wholesome and its fun is contagious; its dramatic art is not high, but its entertaining quality is irresistible.

Porter Emerson Browne's "The Bad

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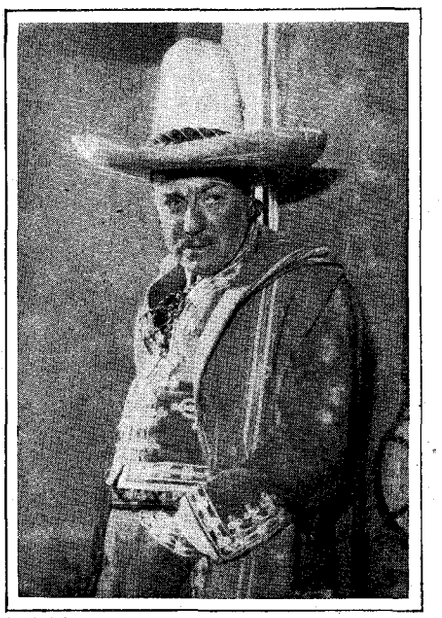
Man," a new play of a most unusual type, like "Lightnin'," centers around a single character, but the subordinate parts are remarkably well drawn and ably presented. The central figure of Mr. Browne's satiric comedy is a Mexican bandit with the manners and morals, or rather lack of morals, of a Pancho Villa. The Bad Man is absolutely guiltless of what modern psychology calls "repressions." He is an essential primitive, a creature of passionate love and passionate hate. Loyalty he knows, and a sense of justice he has, even though his sense of legality is completely and utterly nil. The Bad Man would wonder at the use of the word "even" in the previous sentence. He is a child in impulse and a man in execution. Indeed, whenever necessary for the carrying out of his will and desire, he shows not the least hesitancy in doing whatever executions the situation requires with his own hands. And he does it to the nightly satisfaction and relief of hundreds of men and women who are doubtless as solicitous for the safety of human life as Uncle Toby was for the protection of flies. Any one who remembers Mr. Browne's caustic papers on "Uncle Sham," in which he flayed the sophistries and weaknesses of our Government in the early days of the World War, does not need to be told that the presentation of such a character as The Bad Man gives to this vivid humorist and satirist the opportunity of a lifetime to pillory the conventions of twentieth-century America.

Of the plot of "The Bad Man" we shall say nothing more. It is too good to be spoiled by any written description. We suspect that before The Bad Man ends his career he will have an opportunity to display himself for many long months in New York as well as in all the theatrical centers between Broadway and the Golden Gate.

Abbe

FRANK BACON AS BILL JONES IN "LIGHTNIN'"



Ira D. Schwarz

HOLBROOK BLINN AS PANCHO LOPEZ IN "THE BAD MAN"

FOR NEW YORK DYSPEPTICS ONLY

THESE are hard days for New York dyspeptics. Dyspepsia is a disease which feeds on quick lunches, worry, and the absence of the contemplative spirit. Against these three great foes of health New Yorkers have usually two most successful antidotes ready at hand. But fate has seen fit to deprive them at one fell blow of both these aids to contented digestion.

When the average New Yorker goes out to lunch, he usually takes with him, either to his favorite stool at a "ham-and" emporium or to his club armchair, enough afternoon papers to supply any inquisitive statistician with an explanation of the present paper shortage.

From personal experience and observation we are inclined to believe that this compound of printers' ink and deceased forests is not acquired for the purpose of extracting therefrom vital information concerning business, politics, or sport. The Wall Street editions do not appear until after the usual lunch time, and baseball games are played in the afternoon. As for politics, that, like the poor, is always with us, and we have seen few news items concerning the present campaign which would tempt the average luncher into undue haste to secure information which could doubtless be obtained in more extended form from the morning paper of the following day.

No; we are led to believe that even hurry-scurry New York is moved by higher motives than business, politics, or sport when it makes its daily attack upon the wood-pulp supply of America. We are led to this conclusion by noting the frequency with which our table companions and neighbors turn first of all to the columns of the most contemplative of our American journalists. We refer to the "Sun Dial" of Don Marquis and to the "Bowling Green" of Christopher Morley.

Some Health Department official, with a nose for figures, should work out a table showing the number of minutes added to the average New Yorker's lunch time by the existence of these two columns. Doubtless he could prove that a perusal of the "Sun Dial" leads to an x number of minutes of additional mastication, and that a reading of the "Bowling Green" develops a technique of leisure of salutary importance that could be expressed algebraically by the letter y. From such an investigation it would be easy to prove (everything is easy to prove when one argues with one's self) that the x+y of Don Marquis and Christopher Morley could also be expressed by a tangible factor of increase in the longevity and civic usefulness of the average follower of these two literary exponents of the maxim that "Haste makes waste."

We started this editorial with the statement that "these are hard days for New York dyspeptics." To explain this statement algebraically, we will say that at the moment of writing the citizens of New York are minus both x and y. The editors of the New York "Evening Sun" and the "Evening Post" have, with a total disregard for the health of the citizens of the metropolis, permitted both Mr. Marquis and Mr. Morley to go upon their vacations at one and the same time. It matters not how able are the substitutes provided for the departed columnists, the citizens of New York are now deprived of at least the whole comfort of both their names.

We do not believe that it would be regarded by the Supreme Court as a violation of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law if the editors of the "Evening Post" and the "Evening Sun" entered into a gentlemen's agreement to restrain Mr. Morley and Mr. Marquis from synchronizing their vacations. Such an agreement, even between two competing newspapers, could not be regarded as *contra bonos mores*. Will the editors of these two papers kindly give this matter their careful and most uncongressional consideration?

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PARLIAMENT AND TREASURY ON TRIAL

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENCE

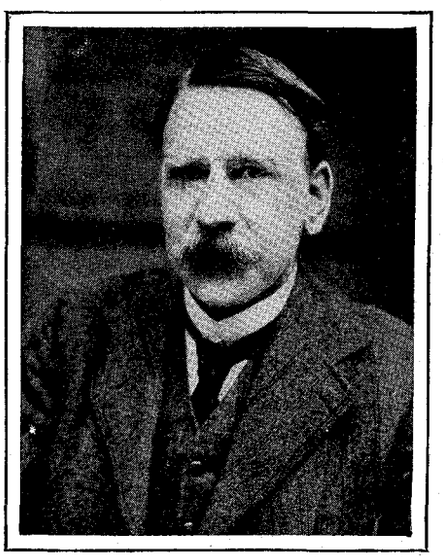
I—SOVIETS IN ENGLAND

WE are under the shadow of a strike which, if it comes to pass, will be more than a strike. If the miners push their demands, as they threaten to do, to the stoppage of work, the United Kingdom will be quickly in the throes of a constitutional struggle. The public read with interest the news from America in reference to the challenge of the miners there. It is regarded as being an industrial affair, which, though serious enough, does not imperil in any way your system of government. There is a whole world of difference in the situation as regards the miners on this side. We are face to face with a crisis the outcome of which may be a modification of our process of government. It does not follow that such a modification would inevitably result within a week or two, but it could not be very long delayed.

A survey of the past year is necessary to get the miners' strike into proper perspective. Coincident with the enormously increased (and increasing) power of the organized labor movement there has been manifested among the workers a new attitude of mind, arising partly from a sense of injustice, partly from a recklessness engendered by the tragic experiences of the battlefield, partly from the greediness born of a new strength. There is a mixture of good and bad in the general motive. What is important for the moment is the widespread prevalence of the motive. People who want things desire to take a short cut to secure them, and they do not care very much what consequences follow in the train of their impulse so long as they attain their immediate object. This further word may be said by way of preface, that, despite the high cost of living, the working classes have never (except in the height of war) been so well off.

Just a year ago the railway men attempted a general stoppage throughout the country in order to secure higher wages. The general community rose in revolt, and the Government fought the railway men.

Although the railway men were defeated, they, by their action, instituted for the first time an attempt at what may be called soviet government in England. A month or two ago the labor movement as a whole set up what was known as a "Council of Action," and that Council of Action dictated terms to the Government with regard to foreign policy. There was a fear (though there was no foundation for it) that the Cabinet might involve the country in war on behalf of Poland against Russia, and the labor movement, forming a body of dictators, announced a stoppage of work of all kinds should the Government embark on the war. Vehemently Mr. Lloyd George denied that there was any intention of war on the part of himself or his colleagues. Without discussing the right or the wrong of the feeling which moved labor, one cannot blink the fact that a substantial body of people, possibly a predominance of them in numbers, were prepared forcibly to take the reins of government from the House of Commons. And it should be pointed out that this concerted move-



Keystone View Co.

ROBERT SMILLIE, HEAD OF THE BRITISH MINERS AND ADVOCATE OF SOVIET RULE

ment was made, not by the extremists alone, but also by moderate leaders, who have secured the ear of masses of the electorate who cannot be described as the working classes. There was no war with Russia, but the Council of Action is kept in existence in case of emergency.

Hardly had the excitement aroused by the institution of the Council of Action died away before another dramatic situation began to present itself. The coal miners, who in the past few years have secured great improvements in their position, put forward new demands, and these demands were of such a nature and were made under such circumstances as to bring once more to the fore problems which, though they are thrust first upon this country, can hardly fail to be experienced in a short time by other great democracies.

While some people put stress on the justice or injustice of the actual demands of the miners, these demands in themselves are not of tremendous import. What is of significance is the spirit and determination which lie behind them. Briefly, the situation is as follows: The miners engaged in arduous occupation are well-paid men. They dispute that their earnings have risen above the cost of living, although on the other side figures are given to show that their wages have gone up out of proportion to increased expenditure. In 1915 they worked an eight-hour day—they now work a seven-hour day. The average pay for adult workers in 1914 was 7/1*d.*—the average pay now is 18/3*d.* The output, in spite of an increased number of workers, has decreased. Here are the figures:

	Number of Workers	
1913	1,110,000	
1920	1,206,000	
Increase	96,000	
	Output	
1913	287,500,000	tons
1920 (estimated)	240,500,000	"
Decrease	47,000,000	tons

The Government is still in general control of the coal industry, and the profits of the owners are rigidly regulated. The profits at present are found in a balance of £66,000,000, secured by the export of coal, and this £66,000,000 goes to the Government for the relief of general taxation. The miners claim that one-half of it should be given to them in extra wages, and the other half should go to the reduction of the price of coal to the consumers. In other words, they are taking upon themselves not only the legitimate task of trying to improve their own conditions, but they are also attempting to interfere in the general government of the country. They are, in effect, telling the Cabinet how the finance of the nation should be conducted.

This is a usurpation of the powers of Parliament which may be fittingly compared with the attempts in bygone days by tyrannous kings and barons. Parliament is no more likely to stand it than it stood the threats of the Stuarts.

Meanwhile the miners are steadily preparing for a strike. A ballot has been taken, showing the requisite majority in favor of a stoppage of work. In a few days we shall know the worst. A strike of the coal miners would paralyze the railways, the great factories, would interfere with food supplies, and, indeed, in the course of a week or two would put the majority of workers in this country out of occupation. There are leaders of other trade unions and members of those trade unions also who see the losses and hardships which would be brought upon workers in general, but, on the other hand, there must

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be taken into account the general tendency of workers which I have already mentioned. The heads of the labor movement have indorsed the claims of the miners. In spite of this there may be some moderating influence exercised behind closed doors, although there is little sign of it at present. Apart from the Council of Action, the newly established body of chiefs, there is an organization already in existence which has practically as much power. It is, in effect, another soviet. The "Triple Alliance," as it is called, consists of railway men, miners, and transport workers, who have associated themselves for common action towards common ends. If the transport workers and railway men join with the miners, the die is cast for the greatest struggle since labor was organized.

The Government stands firm. It is bound to do so or it will cease to be a Government. It is suggested that the underlying reason of the leaders who are pushing this strike is that they desire the nationalization of the mines, and feel that by throwing the industry into chaos they can bring this about. This indeed would be a soviet government with a vengeance. Mr. Lloyd George is a man of swift action in emergency, and it can hardly be doubted that, should the miners persist in a stoppage of work, the Prime Minister would dissolve Parliament and go to the country. Whatever happens, there are serious portents for the future in the present position of affairs.

Our hope lies in the basic common sense and in the practical fiber of our race. We are not in the habit of burning down our house to secure roast pork. There must be unsettlement. I think some reform of our institutions will come to pass. In view of the massive and prevailing power of labor, it will probably take the form of a development in our Parliamentary system, and that development may before long give us a House of Commons which is in effect a grand trades union of the nation, available for immediate appeal and capable of quick and final decision.

FRANK DILNOT.

Balham S. W. London, England,
September 3, 1920.

II—BRITAIN'S CREDIT

WALL STREET is to-day somewhat nervous over European credit. Symptoms of this are the renewal of the French Loan in part at 8 per cent interest and redemption at 10 per cent premium.

Even a British Loan, redeemable in 1937, is quoted at only 82, and thus yields 6¾ per cent in addition to enhancement of value before maturity. And it is reported that at least one large corporation has disposed of Canadian securities on the ground that Canada is linked with Britain's liabilities on the Continent of Europe.

There is no concerted movement to depress British credit. Indeed, the Bankers' Trust has just issued a little book on the subject in which Mr. Harvey E. Fisk gives ample grounds for confidence. The Guaranty Trust also supports an optimistic view and urges that now is the time for Americans to invest in good European securities, so getting the advantage of the exchange and at the same time helping to rectify it for the future. Also, it must be remembered that United States Debt, bearing 4¾ per cent and redeemable at par in two and a half years, are quoted at 95½, while the Pennsylvania Railroad is paying 7 per cent for money.

Uneasiness as to Britain is emphasized by a certain misgiving over labor in the United Kingdom, also over the Bolshevist threat on India, while there is always Ireland. Moreover, Americans, more concerned hitherto with the development of their own country than with the problem of international trade, look a little askance at British exports to the rest of Europe, asking whether Britain is only receiving paper in return and what kind of an asset this will prove to be when payment falls due. My belief is that in financing such exports the policy of British banks, imposed centrally by the Bank of England, has been fairly cautious since the armistice, and that no real risks have been taken. Also, the national credit

(C) Wide World Photos

DAVID LLOYD GEORGE, PRIME MINISTER OF ENGLAND AND FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY, GUARDIAN OF PARLIAMENT AND THE TREASURY

is not involved in such private commercial dealings.

British credit must be tested by public revenue and expenditure. The figures here are simple and conclusive. In the six years between August, 1914, and 1920 Britain spent about 11,500 million pounds. Of this she borrowed 7,100 millions and raised by revenue 4,400 millions. Her total debt is to-day about 7,800 millions. Against this debt she has assets nominally amounting to 1,800 millions, but as these include 568 millions owed by Russia, 515 millions owed by France, and 455½ millions owed by Italy, the "assets" are probably not worth more to-day than one-half the stated total, perhaps not a third. But what has to be realized is that Britain handles the service of her debt as if there were no assets at all against it. She reckons it at the gross amount—7,800 millions sterling.

The financial year in London is from March to March. Not once during the war and reconstruction period has revenue failed of estimates. This year Britain budgets to receive 1,418 million pounds sterling and to spend 1,184 millions sterling, leaving a clear margin, after paying interest, of 234 millions sterling for redemption of debt, or over 2 million dollars daily. In the first three months, a period of low receipts, 37 millions sterling was repaid, or one-half per cent on the whole debt. Unless, therefore, some catastrophe occurs British liabilities will be handsomely reduced by next March.

It is true that "revenue" includes special receipts amounting to 310 millions sterling derived from sale of war stores and so on. But, on the other hand, there are special expenses on the opposite side of the ledger, which also will not recur. And an interesting official statement has been issued of the probable balance-sheet in a normal year. Not reckoning excess profits tax, or any "special receipts," the Treasury would receive 1,029 millions sterling. It would spend 849 millions and have 180 millions left over for redemption of debt.

It is thus clear that Britain is amply paying her way and getting her liabilities reduced. Yet it is sometimes hinted that "she is not meeting one penny of interest." The reference is of course to the funding of interest for three years on American loans to the Allies—a general concession which Britain shares. The statement is not really true in any save the most technical sense. While some interest is added to capital, a much larger capital sum is written off. Indeed, the repayment of 50 millions sterling on the Anglo-French Loan goes far to replace the funding of other debt above mentioned. Funding is really a device for helping the exchange. It is postponing interest for that purpose only—so far as Britain is concerned. Provision for all interest is made in London, as I have explained.

With regard to the labor situation, the unemployment has been for months this year little over one per cent, and sometimes under. It is less than half

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the return for 1919 and is almost negligible. When only one organized person in a hundred is registered as out of work, one need not worry on that score. Under these circumstances, British trade has shown great recovery, and unless this had been the case her public revenues could never have been sustained. She is not, I think, wholly out of the wood—far from it—but her position is improving, and this is all that can be expected. While labor threatens trouble from time to time, the trouble, when it comes, seldom means more than a few days' industrial holiday.

The present coal dispute hinges upon whether profits on export shall be used to assist the public revenue or divided between the consumer (in lowered prices) and the miners (in wages). One can hardly doubt that such a matter will be capable of adjustment.

P. W. WILSON.

American Office of the London
"Daily News," September 9, 1920.

A NEW LINCOLN STATUE AND A LINCOLN STORY

AT no time for a long period has more attention been given to the character, influence, and steadfast qualities of Abraham Lincoln than seems to have filled the minds of men, both here and abroad, during the last two or three years, especially since the armistice. New statues have been erected of him, many and fresh eulogies have been spoken, on both sides of the ocean; even a great play has been written about him by an Englishman which has had an almost unprecedented run both in England and in this country.

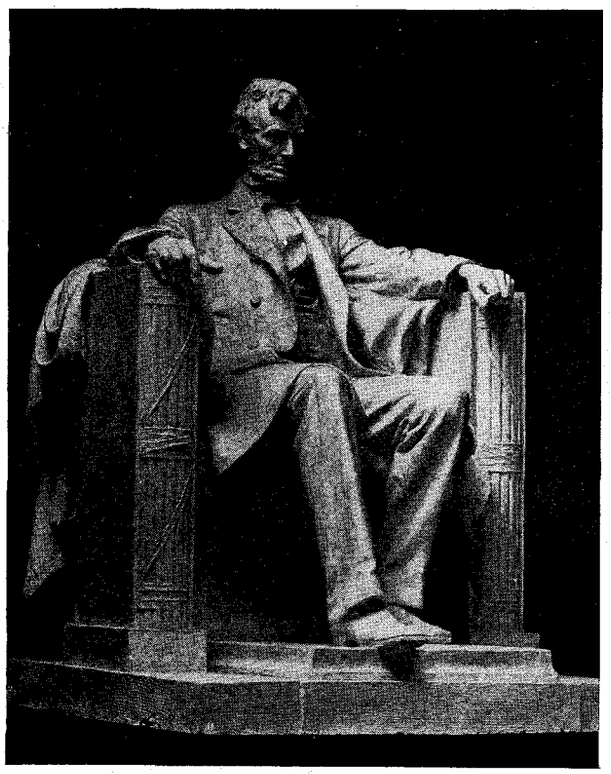
Since the armistice nations seem struggling in a bottomless quagmire, with nothing solid to cling to. Perhaps that may be the reason so many people's thoughts have turned to the memory of Lincoln, as one would reach out and strive to lay hold of a granite rock in an overwhelming bog.

This makes me believe that a quite personal and hitherto unpublished story of Lincoln might be of interest to the public.

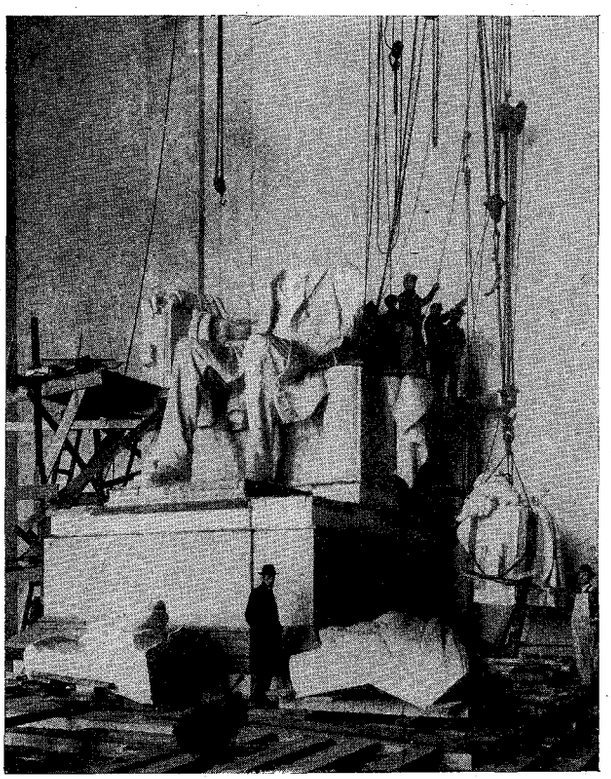
It was recalled to my remembrance the other day while looking at the clay model of Abraham Lincoln which Mr. Daniel C. French has just finished for the Lincoln Memorial in Potomac Park at Washington. As I stood studying that grave reflective figure, with the right hand partly open as if to receive all the facts of life, the left hand firmly clenched as though to hold and use them to best advantage, out of the depths of an old woman's rather nebulous past came the memory of this story. It was told me by Major Gerrard Irvine Whitehead, who went out at the beginning of the Civil War with the celebrated old Philadelphia City Troop, and who served in various capacities and on various staffs until the end.

At one time, during the darkest and most trying days of that great struggle, this young officer was sent up to Washington with secret despatches of the greatest importance. He was ushered at once into the President's private room, a very barely and simply furnished spot indeed. Mr. Lincoln, seated at his desk, took the despatches and motioned the young officer to be seated while he studied the papers. Those two were quite alone in the room. The President sat absorbed in the contents of the despatches, and then fell into a deep study, looking, probably, just as the statue represents him. The tired, dusty young officer scarcely dared to breathe for fear of breaking in upon those anxious thoughts.

The one window was wide open, and across the sultry sky came up heavy thunder clouds; the storm broke and the rain began to pour into the room. Of course Major Whitehead did not think he had any right to move when the Commander-in-Chief was so engrossed, so he sat there and watched the water form a pool, then slowly trickle across the wooden floor almost to the President's feet, who sat absorbed and unconscious. At last Mr. Lincoln made his decision, seemed to rouse from his deep reflections, and, becoming conscious



STATUE OF LINCOLN, BY DANIEL CHESTER FRENCH, TO BE PLACED IN THE LINCOLN MEMORIAL AT WASHINGTON



THE LINCOLN STATUE IN PROCESS OF ERECTION IN THE LINCOLN MEMORIAL AT WASHINGTON

In answer to an inquiry from us, Mr. French, the sculptor, writes: "The statue is twenty feet in height and was built up from twenty pieces of Georgia white marble. It is probably the largest marble statue ever made. The contract for the statue was given to me five years ago, and it has been my chief concern from that time till this summer, when it was erected in the Memorial. It has gratified me very much to receive recently from Lord Charnwood, who, as you know, wrote that admirable life of Lincoln, a letter in which he gave my statue warm approval"

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of the young despatch-bearer, told him to come back in an hour and the return despatches would be ready for him.

Major Whitehead said that from that moment he always pictured in his mind that grave, strong figure who was so absorbed in the care of his people that the wildest storms could not divert his attention. M. C. DE K.

KNOLL PAPERS

BY LYMAN ABBOTT

"GOD'S WAY OF DOING THINGS"

EVER since I have grasped the idea of evolution I have wondered, and more and more wondered, how any one can think of it as irreligious in its spirit or tendency. In my casual reading I recently came upon a passage in S. T. Coleridge's "Aids to Reflection" which furnishes a poet's interpretation of the spiritual meaning of evolution before its scientific meaning had been interpreted by such writers as Darwin, Huxley, and Spencer:

> Let us carry ourselves back, in spirit, to the mysterious week, the teeming work-days of the Creator, as they rose in vision before the eye of the inspired historian, "of the generations of the heaven and earth, in the days that the Lord God made the earth and the heavens." And who that hath watched their ways with an understanding heart, could, as the vision evolving still advanced towards him, contemplate the filial and loyal bee; the home-building, wedded, and divorceless swallow, and, above all, the manifoldly intelligent ant tribes, with their commonwealth and confederacies, their warriors and miners, the husband folk, that fold in their tiny flocks on the honeyed leaf, and the virgin sisters with the holy instincts of maternal love, detached and in selfless purity, and not say to himself, Behold the shadow of approaching Humanity, the sun rising from behind, in the kindling morn of creation! Thus all lower natures find their highest good in semblances and seekings of that which is higher and better. All things strive to ascend, and ascend in their striving. And shall man alone stoop? Shall his pursuits and desires, the reflections of his inward life, be like the reflected image of a tree on the edge of a pool, that grows downward, and seeks a mock heaven in the unstable element beneath it, in neighborhood with the slim water-weeds and oozy bottom grass that are better than itself and more noble, in as far as substances that appear as shadows are preferable to shadows mistaken for substance! No! it must be a higher good to make you happy.

I have a friend under whose inspiring guidance I occasionally visit a picture gallery. In every picture he sees the artist who painted it. He does not speak of "The Man with a Glove" or of "Pilate Washing His Hands," he speaks of a Titian or a Rembrandt. I have a friend who is a teacher of literature. When we talk together, he speaks more frequently of Gibbon than of the "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," of Thackeray than of "Henry Esmond," of Shakespeare than of "Hamlet." And this is not merely a matter of phraseology. The artist is thinking of the creator of the picture; the critic is thinking of the creator of the book. Evolution has taught me to think of the Creator of the landscape. Creation has become for me a process, not a product. I see the artist painting the picture, the author writing the book, the architect building the house.

Therefore I expect imperfection. An unfinished work is always an imperfect work. The apple in June is quite different from the same apple in October. The apparent imperfections in a growing world puzzle me no more than the imperfections in a growing boy. They add to the interest of the process which I am watching.

The revelation of God to man must always be imperfect—a gradual and growing revelation; because the infinite can only be gradually and imperfectly revealed to the finite; a perfect character can only be gradually and imperfectly comprehended by an imperfect character.

Nor is it only the Creator I see in the process of creation going on about me. I see a Lawgiver. I think Huxley must have felt, though he did not always clearly affirm, the presence of a great Lawgiver worthy of our loyalty, for he affirmed that education includes the fashioning of the affections and the will into an earnest and loving desire to move in harmony with the laws of nature. I may yield obedience to power, but power cannot inspire in me a loving desire to move in harmony with the laws which it proclaims; a loving obedience can be paid only to a Lawgiver who deserves my love. The laws of nature are immutable, eternal, unchangeable, never repealed or set aside or disregarded or weakened by emotion. We know what we can depend upon. The laws of health are the laws of God, and it is as truly a sin to violate them as to violate the Ten Commandments. Nature is continually telling me that in her government—that is, in God's government—there are no favorites, and I wish to live in a government in which there are no favorites. I do not wish to live in a city in which some can disregard the city ordinances and some cannot. I do not wish to live in a world in which some can disregard the laws of nature and some cannot, in which I must generally yield them obedience but sometimes may disregard them with impunity. The doctrine of evolution has made clearer than before the presence of an immutable Lawgiver, and the evolutionist does not believe that what men have called miracles are a violation of law. He can believe in miracles only as they are conceived of as a higher use of law.

And evolution has also made clearer to me than before that I am ever in the presence, not only of a great Power and a great Lawgiver, but of a great Healer. "Take what figure you will," says Ralph Waldo Emerson, "its exact value, nor more nor less, still returns to you. Every secret is told, every crime is punished, every virtue rewarded, every wrong redressed in silence and certainty."

That is true; but it is equally true that when the violation of law ceases the work of healing begins. When I was a little boy, in some careless climbing I fell and broke my arm. The law was not set aside for my benefit. Nature did not say: This is a little boy who did not know any better and I will not break his arm. But as soon as the doctor had set the broken arm and put it in splints, nature began to build the bone together again, and now I have forgotten which arm it was that was broken. It is not true that there is no escape from the inexorable law that we reap what we have sown. On the contrary, the moment we stop our sowing a way of escape from the dreadful harvest is pointed out to us. When the dyspeptic ceases to violate the laws of health, the stomach begins to repair the ravages which he has made in it; when the drunkard abandons his cups, the body begins to cast out the poisoned tissues and build new ones to take their place.

Did we not always know this? Yes. But evolutionary science has made this truth clearer. Healing is as essential as imperfection in the process of growth; and the doctrine of evolution is simply the doctrine that life is growth. It is not an explanation of origins; it is simply the history of a process. John Fiske has defined evolution as "God's way of doing things." What is the effect on the religious spirit of regarding evolution in development as God's way of doing things in the material world is all I have spoken of in this paper. I may in some future paper consider the significance of considering it God's way of doing things in the world of spirit.

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CURRENT EVENTS ILLUSTRATED

International

THE WOMAN'S VOTE—A COMING FACTOR IN THE NATIONAL ELECTIONS

The scene is at a primary election in New York City. The children have accompanied the mother to the polls—an early lesson in good government

Paul Thompson

A WOMAN FROM FRENCH GUIANA

Paul Thompson

CZECHOSLOVAK WOMAN AND CHILD

TYPES OF IMMIGRANTS THAT ARE AGAIN SWARMING IN OUR PORTS

New York, the great receiving port of the nation, is again congested with immigrants. Over 26,000 of these prospective citizens arrived in one week recently

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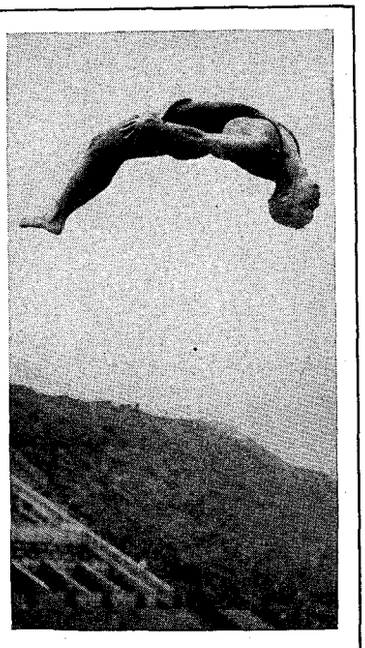
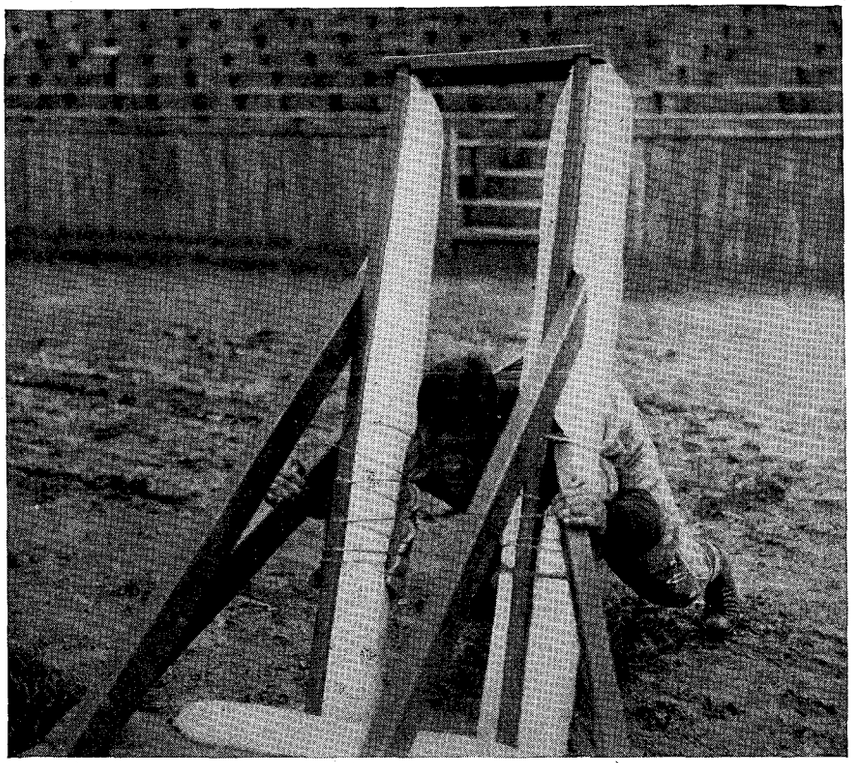


Wide World

A SPECTACULAR DIVE AT THE OLYMPIC GAMES

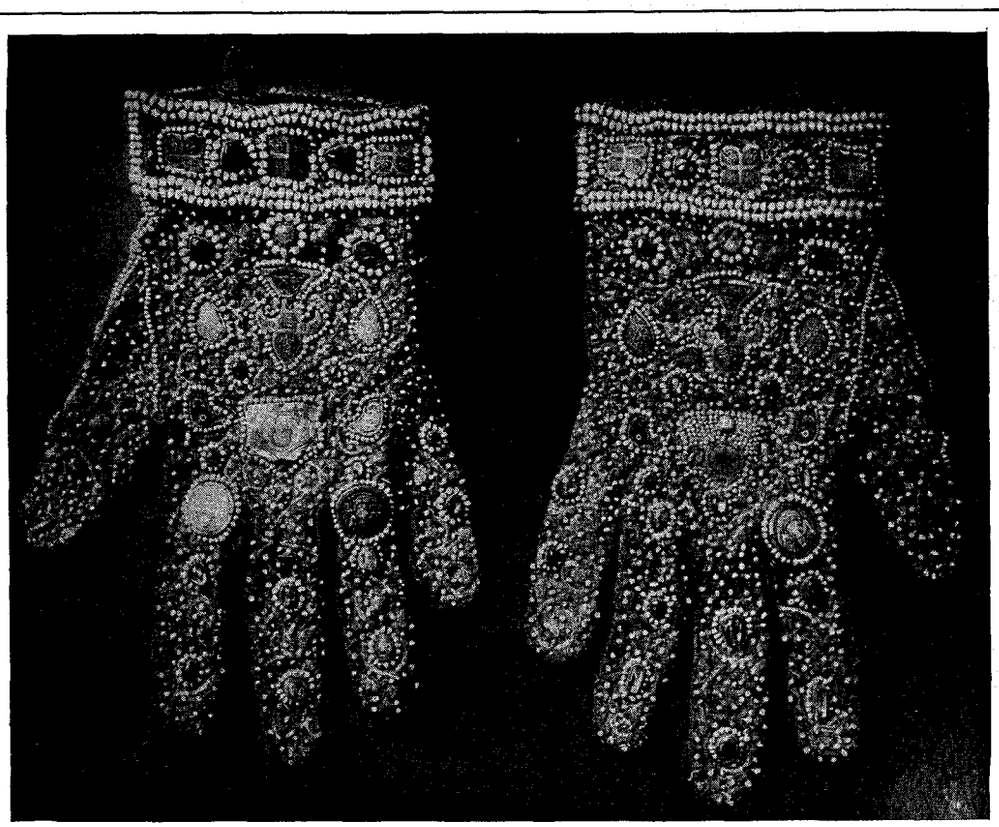
Balback, a skillful American diver, is shown in the act of making a remarkable "swallow" dive



International

PREPARING FOR THE FOOTBALL SEASON

Work on the "bucking machine," as shown above, is one of the methods of getting the members of the football squad in readiness for the real work of the field



(C) Keystone View Co.

AUSTRIAN TREASURES WHICH ARE TO BE GIVEN UP TO ITALY

These remarkable gem-incrusted gloves are traditionally regarded as having been worn by Roman Emperors. They are among the treasures which are to be restored to Italy under the conditions of the treaty of peace

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PAINLESS TAXATION

IS AN "EMPLOYER'S PRIVILEGE TAX" PRACTICABLE?[1]

BY THEODORE H. PRICE

EDITOR OF "COMMERCE AND FINANCE"

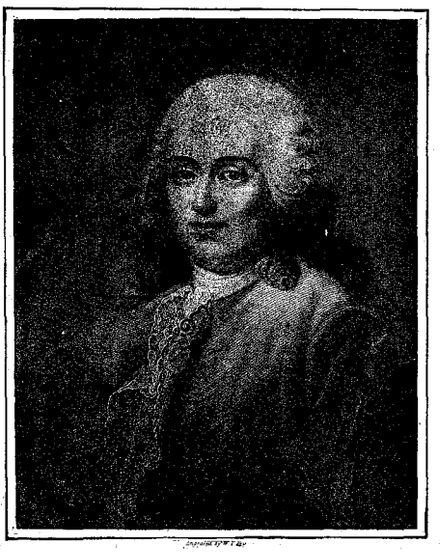
MONSIEUR TURGOT, who became Marquis de l'Aulne, is one of the most famous tax-gatherers of history. He was Minister of Finance for France in the reign of Louis XVI. It is related that when he took office the credit of the state was tottering, but that he was so successful in reducing the deficit that the Dutch bankers who had a short time before refused to buy French securities at all were eagerly offering to take a loan of 60,000,000 livres at 5 per cent.

His motto was, "No bankruptcy, no increase of taxation, and no borrowing," and when he was asked how, with such a policy, he could increase the public revenue, he is said to have answered that "the art of taxation lay in the ability to pluck the goose without making him squawk." That he was master of his art is attested by his record, and he practiced it by so rearranging the French taxes that every one and everything paid a little, but not enough to restrain development or enterprise. The result was that commerce, which had previously been hampered by oppressive and inquisitional taxes, grew rapidly and the public revenue reflected the increased prosperity of the entire country.

Now, despite its seeming cynicism, there is much truth in Turgot's remark about the goose and its squawk. For several years to come our Government will have to raise somewhere between four and five billions annually by taxation. There is not much hope of any reduction, for even if we do pay off part of the public debt the money will have to be provided by taxation, and it is much to be feared that Congress, whether it be Republican or Democratic, will fail to practice the economy that both parties are now preaching on the stump.

Now, is the sum so overwhelmingly large? Even before the war had made of us a creditor nation we were voluntarily taxing ourselves about three billions a year to pay for the liquor that we bought. It cost some two billions at wholesale, to which should be added about a billion for the saloon-keepers' profit and the expense indirectly involved in the maintenance of almshouses and penitentiaries, many of which are now vacant. There are some who are even clamoring for the reimposition of this tax, because for them it was a pleasure to pay it.

[1] This supplements an article by Mr. Price printed in The Outlook on July 14, 1920, under the same general title, and is the substance of an address delivered before the National Association of Cotton Manufacturers at Maplewood, New Hampshire, September 23, 1920.—THE EDITORS.



"ONE OF THE MOST FAMOUS TAX-GATHERERS OF HISTORY," MASTER OF THE ART OF PLUCKING THE GOOSE "WITHOUT MAKING HIM SQUAWK"

Our expenditure for automobiles and their upkeep during the year 1919 must have been nearly as large, if not larger, for there were seven millions of them in use on the 31st of December last, about 1,600,000 of which were new machines manufactured and sold during the preceding twelve months. So it is not so much the amount of the taxes that we pay as the method by which they are collected that makes us uncomfortable.

The income surtaxes and the excess profits tax were popular with the economists because it was thought that they were in theory equitable, and with the legislators because it was believed that they would yield the largest returns and make the smallest number of people uncomfortable. According to the returns of 1917 (later figures are not available), there were only 161,996 persons in the United States who reported incomes of $10,000 or over in that year, and it did seem equitable that a rich man who had a lot of property for the Government to protect should pay more taxes than the poor man who cost the community little or nothing. But experience has proved that in taxing the few we have only increased the burden of taxation for the many.

Chief Justice Marshall's famous decision, under which State and municipal bonds and the interest received from them are not taxable by the Federal Government because "the power to tax is the power to destroy" and Congress has no right to destroy the governmental agencies of sovereign States, is, for instance, the cause of the high rents that are a consequence of the housing shortage.

As Mr. Otto H. Kahn has pointed out, a man with an income of $1,100,000 a year will get as much net return from a tax-exempt bond paying 5¾ per cent a year as from a taxable bond yielding 21½ per cent, and one with an income of $200,000 a year would have to get 16 per cent on his taxable investments in order to have the same net income that he would derive from tax-exempt securities yielding only 5¾ per cent. In the case of an income of $100,000 a taxable yield of 13 per cent would be required to equal a tax-exempt return of 5¾ per cent, and so on down the scale.

These calculations take into account only the Federal income tax; if State income tax and other taxes are also considered, the advantage in favor of non-taxable securities would be even greater; and the result is that a very large share of the country's capital which might otherwise be invested in new houses or mortgages on them is being put into municipal or State securities. Their issuance has been correspondingly stimulated, and the ease with which they can be sold has in some cases led to great extravagance and wastefulness.[1]

There are many other ways in which the high interest rates on taxable investments caused by the high income supertaxes increase the cost of living and limit production. The manufacturer or merchant who has to pay, as at present, eight or nine per cent for the capital he requires is naturally disposed

[1] Since the above was written John S. Parrish, secretary of the advisory council of real estate interests of the City of New York, has testified before the United States Senate Committee on Reconstruction and Production that the withdrawals from mortgage investments in real property in the borough of Manhattan during the first half of 1920 amount to approximately $83,000,000 net.

In the newspaper report of this testimony Mr. Parrish is quoted as adding that "nowhere in the history of the city can there be found a parallel for such a drainage of basic capital from any field of investment." It indicates a rate of withdrawal of money from investment in mortgages in Manhattan alone of over $165,000,000 per year.

"An explanation of this unprecedented course of investment money will be sought in vain outside the operation of the income tax laws, Federal and State. This movement in and of itself supplies the most complete and sufficient explanation of the Nation-wide shortage in housings. It will inevitably continue its strangle hold on the building industry until the incidence of the income tax is raised from mortgage income and shifted to another point.

"The income tax is fundamentally uneconomic. It is an obstruction to the foremost of the industries, the great building industry with all its ramifications, and discourages the people from investing in it. This may not have been foreseen when the law was enacted, but the experience of the last three years and the cessation of housing construction and the prostration of the mortgage market has afforded a demonstration of which there can be no question."

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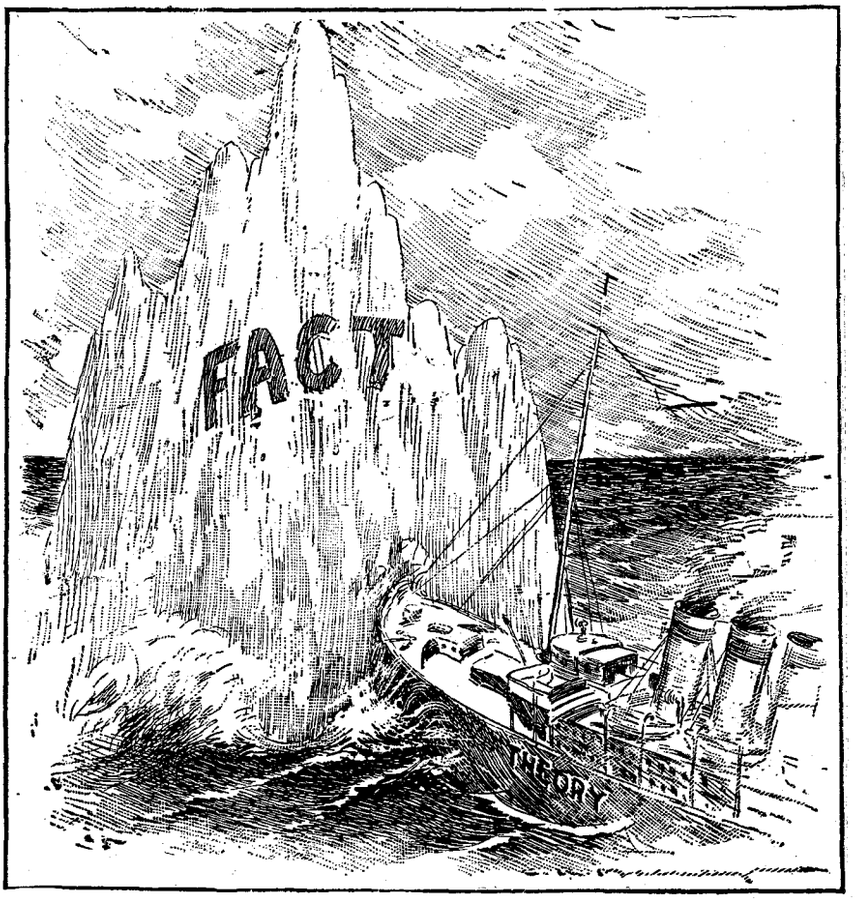
to limit his activities. He employs fewer men, carries smaller stocks, reduces his turnover or output, and tries in every way to avoid borrowing money. The predicament of the railways and the higher freight rates recently authorized are in part due to the fact that the money needed for the improvement of the roads cannot be borrowed by even the best of them at less than from seven to seven and a half per cent.

But I could employ all the space allotted to me in an exposition of the injustice and disadvantages of the high supertaxes and the excess profits tax. To a reasonable and reasonably graduated income tax I see no objection, but the present surtaxes penalize success. They compel the enterprising man to pay the Government an immoderate share of his gains in a profitable year, and leave him to bear the losses of an unprofitable year alone. They kill the ambition and initiative of those who can do big things and are willing to take risks, thereby throttling the development by which society might benefit. They are inquisitorial, they are difficult to collect, they put a premium upon legalized evasion, against which the Government cannot protect itself without laws that would be, in fact, confiscatory; and they do not, as it was hoped they would, lessen the economic burden of the poor, for they have greatly increased the cost of existence for every one.

Of the disadvantages of the excess profits tax I need hardly speak, for they have become so apparent that both candidates for the Presidency have declared themselves in favor of the abatement or repeal of the tax, and it is highly probable that it will soon be abandoned. If not, it may be that there will be no excess profits to tax, for with production costs increasing and prices declining as they have latterly it is quite possible that the word profit may shortly become obsolete.

This is, in fact, one of the chief objections to the excess profits tax from the standpoint of the Government. The returns from it are too uncertain. In a good year they may be large, and in a poor year almost nothing. From the standpoint of the people, or the average business man or manufacturer employing a moderate capital, another disadvantage of the excess profits tax is the opportunity that it offers the large concern to strengthen a monopolistic grip through advertising, whose cost, being deducted from the profits made, is largely paid by the Government. A recent case in point is to be observed in the grocery trade, where a great commotion has been caused by the announcement that the manufacturers of a nationally advertised article would hereafter sell to the retailers direct, so cutting out the jobbers' discount and being better able to undersell their competitors. If the theory upon which this action has been taken works out in practice, other manufacturers who are not able to follow the same policy will be excluded from the market.

Macauley in the New York World of April 18, 1912



THE ETERNAL COLLISION

"I am convinced that in taxation, as in other matters, it is impossible for us to foresee the conflict between fact and theory. . . . I well recollect a cartoon . . . when the Titanic collided with an iceberg. . . . It was 'Theory' that perished"

I must admit that I have but recently come to the conclusion that the very high supertaxes and excess profits tax are inequitable and inexpedient. The theory which underlies them had a strong appeal for me when they were at first imposed, for it did seem just that those who had the most should pay the most and pay largely.

I am, however, convinced that in taxation, as in other matters, it is impossible for us to foresee the conflict between fact and theory until the latter is applied.

I well recollect a cartoon which was published when the Titanic collided with an iceberg and sank, despite her water-tight compartments, double bottom, and all the other devices to make her unsinkable with which she was equipped. The iceberg was labeled "Fact" and the Titanic "Theory." It was "Theory" that perished.

I doubt if any one, even the so-called tax experts, can say in advance what the incidence or effect of any new or untried tax will be, and we should therefore be careful before we decide to flee from the taxes we have to others that we know not of.

Even if it be admitted that the present taxes are against the interest of the public, it must also be admitted that it is politically impossible to get them radically changed at once.

It is probable that the excess profits tax will be repealed. It is possible that some reduction in the income supertaxes may be secured, and it has been suggested that the tax on earned incomes should be revoked, leaving "unearned incomes" alone subject to taxation. The unwisdom of attempting to discriminate between earned and unearned incomes will probably become apparent as the proposal is considered. It would drive capital into tax-exempt securities, penalize thrift, and encourage people to spend their earnings instead of saving them.

This is the most we can hope for some years to come. The popular belief in the justice of the income surtaxes is too deep-seated to permit of their entire surrender; and in so far as new taxation is concerned, the practical question is, by what method shall we raise the revenue that may be required to make good the deficit that will result from a remission of all the excess profits taxes and a reduction of the surtaxes?

The most favorably received suggestion thus far made is that of a consumption tax, or a "turnover tax," as Governor Cox called it in his speech of acceptance, in which he recommended its adoption.

It is estimated that the agricultural,

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mineral, and industrial production of the United States is now worth an aggregate of about seventy billions a year, and that in its passage from producer to consumer it generates a trade or commerce which involves an aggregate turnover of about five hundred billions annually. A tax of one per cent upon this turnover would yield a revenue of five billions a year, which is nearly twice as much as we are likely to need in the future, and a tax of one-half of one per cent would not be appreciably felt by the individual consumer, so why not levy it and be done with it?

It would collect itself, for it would only be necessary to require that every one should on the first of each month send a statement of his sales and a check for his taxes to the Treasury Department, or be prosecuted; and the buyer would hardly know that he was paying the tax, because it would be hidden in the price and absorbed in the seller's overhead charges.

It all looks very simple, but let us examine it. Would it be politically possible to get Congress to pass a law taxing the farmer on what he receives for his crops? It is very doubtful. Would it be physically possible to compel the newsboy to pay a tax on the papers that he sold, or the peanut vender to make a monthly statement and send a check? Does the bootblack sell a "shine" or his labor, and would the latter be taxable? Is it freight room or service that we buy from the railways? Should either be subject to the consumption tax, and should the banker who sells hundreds of millions of securities be subject to a "turnover tax" that would break him, or be given an exemption that Congress would never grant?

These are just a few of the questions that suggest themselves, but they make it plain that the problem is one of infinite complexity. It is probable that the goose would not squawk very loudly if he were plucked through the application of a consumption tax, but the difficult thing is to impose such a tax fairly and to make it politically acceptable.

I have given the subject much thought, and here again I must confess that I have changed my views. I do so without embarrassment, for I am one of those who believe that "a wise man changes his opinion, a fool never," and that "consistency is the weakness of the narrow-minded." When the turnover tax was at first proposed, it impressed me so favorably that I advocated its adoption in an article published in The Outlook for July 14 last.

But when I came to think out a practical plan for its collection I found that it would have to include more exceptions than are to be found in Greek grammar, and that each exception made would inspire a demand that another class be excepted, until there would be nobody left to tax.

Therefore I have given it up, and my mind, still seeking for some tax that would be "painless" and would not make the goose "squawk," is gradually turning toward a tax that would be levied on those who employ others to work for them as the nearest approximation to an equitably distributed consumption tax that we can obtain. I frankly admit that I am groping, but it is said that Edison tried 253 different sorts of material before he finally got a satisfactory filament for the incandescent light, and if it will not weary you I will tell you briefly my reasons for presently suggesting a tax on the privilege of employing others to work for us, levied pro rata upon the amount paid them, for your consideration.

I say for your consideration, for all I can aspire to do is to stimulate thought on this all-important subject. I have no hope of being able to devise a plan that will be impeccable.

All that we consume and all wealth are, of course, the product of work. The banker's profit and the bootblack's pennies are alike the result of work. Speculation and judgment, the willingness to take risks and the ability to select and limit them intelligently, affect the reward that different men receive for doing the same amount of physical work, but these are elements that, being intangible, exempt themselves from taxation.

By and large, the great mass of things that mankind consumes are the product of work—on the farm and in the mines, factories, and offices. Therefore, if the labor cost of these things was taxed we should approximate an equitably distributed consumption tax, and if it were supplemented by a reasonable income tax plus moderate surtaxes we would, it seems to me, be coming about as near as we can get to a painless and fairly apportioned tax.

I am fully aware that there are a great many exceptions that would have to be made or would, so to speak, make themselves in the application of this theory. The men and women who employed no household servants, as well as those who sold the product of their individual labor directly to the public, would be exempt, but I am inclined to think that this is desirable, for it would stimulate personal economy and industry. On the other hand, the rich man who maintained an expensive country place and employed many servants and functionaries would have to pay for the privilege.

Doubtless a tax on the privilege of getting others to work for us, levied pro rata upon the amount paid them, would lead some to reduce the daily or hourly wage and increase the bonus payments or piece work, to which the labor unions would probably object. Bonus payments, gratuities, and piece-work wages should therefore be included in the taxable disbursements.

Human nature being as it is, there will always be an effort to evade taxation, especially direct taxation that is concentrated upon a small class whose members feel that their success is penalized and that they are unjustly singled out to bear an unduly large share of the cost of government. Therefore, and without intending to be cynical or flippant, I maintain that it is more essential that a tax should be painless, that it should have a low visibility, that it should, so to speak, collect itself gradually and in small amounts, that it should not be inquisitorial, and that it should be laid upon what we spend and not upon what we earn, rather than that it should conform to the law of abstract justice, which I am convinced none of us understand or can hope to apply.

The revenue now required by the Federal Government is about five billions per annum. In round figures this is equal to about 15 cents per capita per day for every man, woman, and child in the country.

Most of us would a great deal rather pay 15 cents a day each day than $54.75 at the end of the year or on March 1 next succeeding; and just as the cash-and-carry system promotes economy, so daily tax payments made through a small addition to the price of what we bought would probably stimulate thrift. The employers' privilege tax, while it would be paid directly by the farmer, the manufacturer, and the merchant, would be immediately passed on by a microscopic addition to the price of the article produced. It would therefore be almost invisible, it would be nearly painless, and it would be promptly paid in small installments from day to day or month to month.

A manufacturer or merchant whose monthly disbursements for wages, salaries, or piece work totaled $100,000 would at the end of the month send a statement to Washington with a check for the amount of his tax. If the tax were five per cent, his check would be $5,000, which he would include in his overhead charges and add to the selling price of his product.

The price paid by the manufacturer of an entirely finished or marketable product for the raw or partially finished material that he used would have been correspondingly increased by the employers' privilege tax paid upon the wages paid to those employed in its production, and thus the price at which the article was sold for consumption would include all the employers' privilege taxes that it had to bear in its progress from the first producer to the ultimate buyer.

As to the aggregate of the wages paid in this country, which would be the principal sum upon which such a tax could be levied, no definite figures are available. Roughly speaking, there are probably fifty million men, women,

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and children in the United States who sell their labor, directly or indirectly. If they earn two dollars a day and work three hundred days a year, the labor income of the country is thirty billion dollars a year. This is hardly more than a guess, but if it is anywhere near correct, a tax on the privilege of employing others that would equal seven per cent on what the employer pays would probably provide all the revenue we need to offset the reduction in the excess profits and income supertaxes for which we hope.

Such a tax would be paid directly by the employers, and for the most part by the large employers. Where the work paid for produced the things that the people consume the tax would no doubt be passed on in the prices charged, and in the case of those who employed others to lessen their own toil or minister to their comfort, luxury, or extravagance, the tax could not be passed on and would act as a deterrent to unproductive expenditure.

I submit the suggestion for consideration and criticism. I realize that it is only out of the conflict of opinion that truth is evolved. There may be a great many objections to the proposed tax that I cannot see. Constant study of a single subject is apt to impair the vision.

All that I hope or can expect to accomplish is to stimulate thought upon what is our most important domestic problem, and I am certain that a satisfactory solution can be found if the energies of the collective American mind are concentrated upon the same subject.

It is because I rely so confidently upon the prescience of the collective mind that I believe so confidently in the future of democracy. I mean democracy with a little "d."

I know that there are some even in this country who are sometimes disposed to doubt that "vox populi" is "vox Dei," but as I look back upon the history of this country and England and note the economic, moral, and intellectual advance that has accompanied each extension of the right to vote, my enthusiasm for government of the people, for the people, and by the people is greatly increased.

Were it otherwise, I should be of all men most miserable at a time when we are about to enfranchise the "better half" of our population, that has until recently been politically inarticulate.

HARDING AND COX AS SEEN BY ASSOCIATES

A FIRST-HAND STUDY OF THE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES IN THEIR RELATIONS TO THEIR FELLOWS

BY RICHARD BARRY

A MARION old man, in early years a political opponent but now a supporter, estimated the Republican nominee for the writer. "The trouble with Warren Harding," said he, "is that he never had any ambition. We've had to push and pull him from one public place to another. He was never a hand to blow his own trumpet or further his own fortunes. Of course after he gets in a race he runs true to form, but he always has hesitated to start, and it was always his friends who sort of chucked him, mildly protesting, beyond the barrier.

"That is how it was when they first ran him for the State Senate. Some of us who had been dealing with him in business here for twenty years and who knew he had the levelest head and farthest sight of any man in town insisted he stand for the office. It was the same when he was proposed for the nomination for Lieutenant-Governor. Finally he said, 'Well, boys, if you think it's for the good of Marion and the party, I'll be the goat.' When they put him up for the United States Senate, he was against it. He actually had the nerve to tell some of us, privately, that he doubted if he was competent for a National place like that. Besides, as a newspaper man with a shrewd estimate of public opinion, he honestly stated and believed that he lacked the political appeal necessary to bring success to the party. But he was elected by over a hundred thousand majority and ran far ahead of his ticket.

"This Presidential nomination was forced on him in the same way. I guess those Senators in Washington associating with him for five years came to look on him just as we do here in Marion—that when it comes down to cases in any close decision on public matters he holds a little finer balance than anybody else, but that he never uses it until all the others are discarded. He came about as near evading the nomination as a man could under the circumstances. They say he is like McKinley, but there is one vital difference, at least. McKinley consciously and with long-headed political acumen groomed himself for at least a dozen years for the Presidential nomination. While he was Governor of Ohio he neglected the business of the State and spent most of his time building National political fences. The exact opposite is true of Warren Harding."

In contrast is the expression of a leading citizen of Dayton, a close associate of the Democratic nominee. "Cox," said he, "is literally confident, coldly and absolutely confident, that he will be elected President next November. I don't mean this in the usual political sense. He believes in himself to a degree I never knew in any other man. Cox is accustomed to success, but he is never over-confident. You have to associate with him some time to realize what this means. He is as concretely analytical as an engineer, but he never thinks of failure, never prepares for it, never believes in it.

"If any man has raised himself by his own boot-straps, it is Jimmy Cox. If he wants a thing, he never thinks twice about getting it; he may think as often as necessary about how to get it, but never once about the propriety or the desirability of his having it. This was characteristic of his business and professional career before he entered politics. He was forever reaching out and upward, attempting what seemed the impossible to other men, but relying solely on himself to get there, and usually doing it.

"When Cox was first nominated for Congress, it was a surprise to every one, for he was not the type we were accustomed to in public life. His personality was not known, he was a poor speaker, and he had the enmity of most of the powers that be. But coldly and alone he had made up his mind that he was going to Congress, and he went.

"In politics, as in business, he has the instinct for picking the right man (not men) for advice. In business it was Paul Sorg who became his backer and adviser. In politics he sought John McMahon, one of the shrewdest political brains in Ohio. It had been the dream of McMahon's life that his son should be a prominent office-holder, but he has never been able to do anything for his son, while it is his proud boast that he has piloted Cox to at least within a step of the White House." (McMahon is eighty-seven, Cox fifty.) "But the initiative has always come from Cox. Two years ago he told his friends he would be the Presidential nominee this time. McMahon was the only one who believed him."

In general these expressions may be fairly accepted as the estimates of

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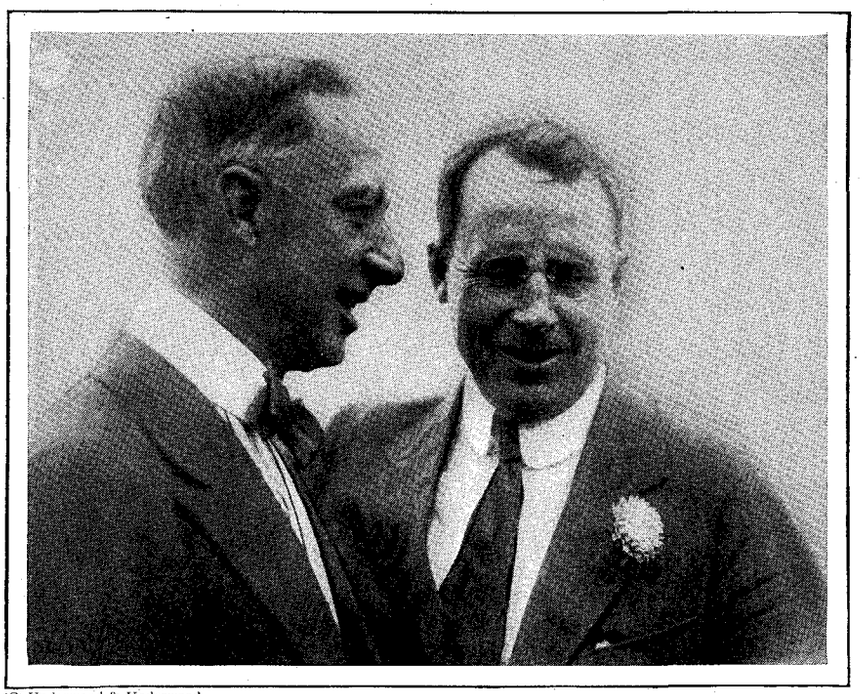

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GOVERNOR COX (TO THE RIGHT) AND "AL" SMITH, GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK. "COX IS LITERALLY CONFIDENT . . . THAT HE WILL BE ELECTED PRESIDENT NEXT NOVEMBER"

Marion and Dayton on their respective leading citizens. While there is a disagreement on the tenets of political faith, there must be a certain agreement on essential characteristics.

Harding is the Yggdrasil of Marion, under whose umbrageous shade pilgrims assemble for meditation and to absorb wisdom which permeates them as though from mystical sources. His strength comes as from a secret spring fed by unknown reservoirs.

There is something saga-like, something almost Oriental, about Harding's imperturbability and his seeming granite aloofness which the moment one approaches it becomes a velvet couch for reassuring revery. He looks and acts the part of and is the first patriarch. They dress his picture in a peruke and he looks like Washington. They dent in his cheeks and shade his eyes and he looks like Lincoln.

One cannot imagine Harding "running" for office. Offices and men and events just naturally have to "run" to Harding. It is like piping water down hill from a spring; gravity is a better force than the most ingenious mechanism or the most powerful pump.

These forces have been at work for a generation in that city. The writer was told that in thirty years not a measure of public enterprise has been accomplished in the community in and around Marion if Harding opposed it, while he has supported practically every one that has become a fact. This is not saying that all the business enterprises Harding has supported have been prosperous, for he told the writer himself that he could paper a room with stock certificates he held in Marion business concerns now worthless.

The Harding-Marion way has been this; unconventional, perhaps, but more invariable than if it were caused by a written statute. Something new is desired for the town—perhaps a bond issue to extend streets, perhaps a little capital and the incorporation for a new factory, perhaps a subscription for a country club, perhaps the extension of electric lighting to a new development. After the initial work of early discussion and promotion is over there always comes a time when some one asks: "Well, have you seen Harding? What does he say?" Harding is always the focal point, the peak, of the promotion. This is not a financial control, for his money interests are not large, and in nothing but his newspaper dominant. It is rather the benevolent guidance of a commonly recognized community vision broader and surer than any other. Wise instigators in that locality study the approach to Harding's mind just as wise attorneys study the entrance to the Supreme Court. For if he approves the scheme, whatever it may be, it is assured of at least a try. If he withholds approval, it will fall to the ground of its own weight sooner or later. The essential point to be emphasized here is that Harding never *disapproves* and never *opposes*; he only *withholds* approval. No one ever heard him publicly *attack* any enterprise in Marion, or any individual, except in the stress of a political campaign, and then never personally.

Harding is temperamentally and by training and by lifelong experience essentially a "booster." It is almost impossible for him to say a harsh or an unkind word about anybody. His shrewd estimates of men and measures are unerring, but they are always on the sympathetic side. The writer has heard his confidential opinion of such men as Wilson, Cox, La Follette, Johnson, and others, each of whom, in differing ways, he has at various times opposed politically. He always speaks first of his opponent's strength, and then cautiously, if at all, of his weakness. This is not with lawyer-like reserve either, but with the *sang-froid* and often the easy slang of the hit-or-miss newspaper man.

In the early years the office of the editor of the Marion "Star" often usurped the functions of the local police court and of the county court-house, for so many people who wanted to avoid the delays and complications of the law would by common consent submit their differences to Harding as referee, as nearly every one felt that he would give an intelligent and impartial opinion. Despite the fact that as an editor he might profit in thus gaining news of interesting differences, there was never an instance in which he did not seek to help people to patch up their troubles. Thus, unofficially, he was for long the chief magistrate of the city.

The writer asked the "Star's" Democratic competitor, the editor of the Marion "Tribune," if he would oppose Harding in this election. "Yes," he grudgingly admitted, "we will oppose him, but not very hard. People around here won't stand for it."

A similar question was addressed to the Republican editor of Cox's chief competitor, the Dayton "Herald and Journal." "We will not only fight him tooth and nail, from now until election," was the fiery answer, "but I am sure we will lick him. Cox will not carry his own county."

This feeling is the resultant of twenty years of fierce contest in the maelstrom of city journalism and politics.

Business men in Dayton, if not political enemies, have for Cox a genuine admiration as a successful man. It is the same sort of admiration they have for a cash register or a motor car or an independent lighting system for the making of which their community is celebrated. They look upon him as a unique and marvelous human mechanism which has an uncanny faculty of performing well any task to which it may be set. They were not astonished at his Presidential nomination, though few anticipated it; they have come to look upon any success which he attains as well within the man's reach. When he made his sensational charges about the Republican campaign fund, those who knew him were sure he had what he thought to be definite proof. "Cox is not a four-flusher," one Dayton manufacturer said; "he is a born prosecuting attorney; he never brings an indictment unless he thinks he can prove his case, but he never looks beyond into causes and effects. He is an expert in wrecking, and he lets the other fellow do the salvaging, while he stands by cannily ready to profit personally, if possible. In wreckage he has initiative; in salvage he is a follower."

However, in all of this feeling there

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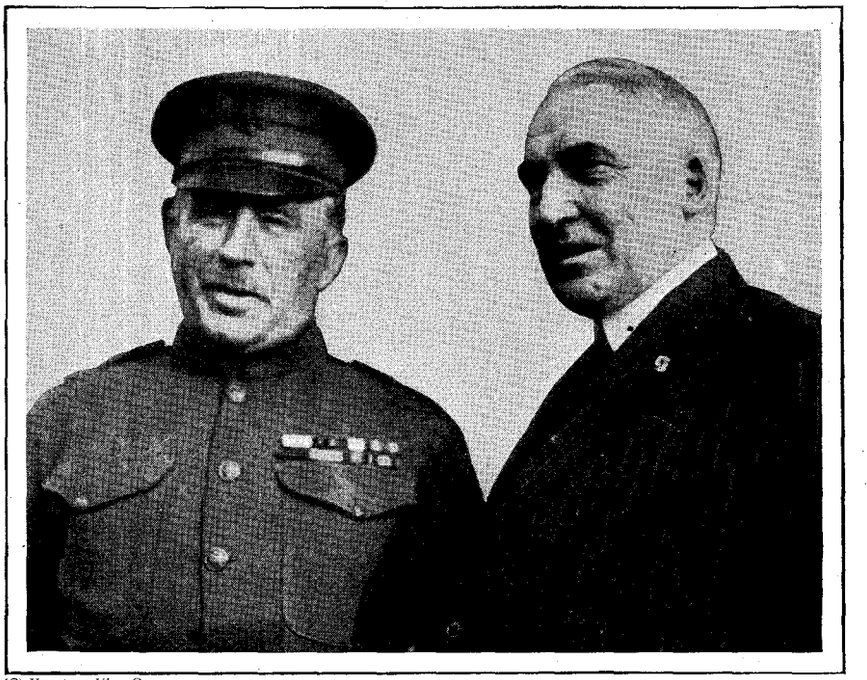
is little of the warmth of personal devotion. Not because Cox is unapproachable or conceited or tactless in personal relations. He is none of this. All that superior cunning can supply he presents as a politician. He has no angles; except in professional attack no harshness. Yet in no relation of life does he ever seem to relax. He is almost devoid of a sense of humor, and his mental approach to all problems is definitely literal. To the logical exactness of a mind legally informed he adds the feminine intuitions of a super-reporter. As an executive, judged from the mechanically efficient angle of any corporate enterprise, his qualities entitle him to high consideration. He is prompt, exact, thorough, and he has both courage and vision.

Aside from the obvious triumph of a career that has had to overcome the usual obstacles, Cox's emergence as a public speaker illustrates his vigor and industry. As a young man he always avoided public speaking, as he felt his voice was poor and his language too plain for oratory. For years he never delivered a public address without writing it out carefully beforehand, committing it to memory, and then repeatedly delivering it alone, in the woods or in the privacy of his locked room. This has made him a forceful and ready speaker, if neither polished nor elegant.

The reason for the curious lack of personal devotion among his Dayton associates is not hard to define. While Harding has been the "booster" of Marion, Cox has been the "knocker" of Dayton. He has prospered through contest and *exposé*, and he has been quite aloof from any community spirit except the purely professional one inculcated by a popular newspaper. No business enterprise in Dayton has ever been able to get him either as investor or adviser, and he has never admitted either partners or stockholders to any of his own enterprises. As he told the writer, "I believe in putting all my eggs in one basket, and in watching that basket." As a result he has never sat in a directors' meeting, any more than he has ever attended a summer resort, preferring to go alone into the woods when he wants a holiday.

There is something a bit Napoleonic about Cox, and, curiously, in this connection it should be noted that he told the writer his favorite character in history is Thomas Jefferson, while Harding, years ago, told the writer his favorite character is Napoleon. But there is nothing Napoleonic about Harding, whose characteristics of mental and personal life are not un-Jeffersonian.

Another sidelight may be furnished on the two men by quotations from prominent supporters who were their opponents in the respective Conventions which nominated them.



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SENATOR HARDING (TO THE RIGHT) AND HIS CHIEF RIVAL FOR THE NOMINATION, GENERAL WOOD. "THERE IS SOMETHING SAGA-LIKE . . . ABOUT HARDING'S IMPERTURBABILITY"

A certain rich man who gave ardently and generously of his talent and his money to secure the Republican nomination for Hiram Johnson traveled, after he had lost, to Marion to see Harding, chiefly for the purpose of determining if he could support him. That midnight, before he boarded his train to return home, he said to the writer: "I came here prejudiced against Harding. He is not progressive enough to suit me, but I'm for him now, and to the limit; not because I convinced him to my way of thinking or he me to his. I fear we will always disagree on certain fundamental points of view, but at least I have this satisfaction: it will always be an honest and frank disagreement without doubt or deceit, and his mind will always be open to argument. He whipped me to-day, and, as a practical man, I could not help admitting it, on grounds of expediency, but he looked me and everything I said squarely in the face. He may be a compromiser—any man as chief executive of anything has to be—but he is not a trimmer, and he is no man's or men's man. He is a bigger man than either the so-called progressive or the so-called reactionary, because he can get the good out of both and make them both function. If that's carrying water on both shoulders, it's the kind of delicate balancing we need in the White House. He promised me nothing personally except a square deal, and I feel sure he did no more for the other fellow."

A McAdoo supporter came to Dayton, and, after his conference with Cox, the writer heard him say: "I fought Cox in the Convention, but that was before I knew him. Now I'm for him—to the hilt. I never talked with a more practical-minded politician. There isn't a prejudice or an hypocrisy in him. He is frankly out to win, and there is but one argument you can put over on him—one that definitely shows him he can get votes. He has no hesitation or false dignity; and he does not compel you to beat about the bush. He makes me think of one of these twelve-cylinder cars that can turn around in its own length; no lost motion. He knows every-day talk and what it means and it doesn't take two seconds to get together with him."

To use an ancient metaphor, Harding counsels with the sybil in the sheltered field, while Cox consults the daily plebiscite of the urns in the market-place.

With Harding you feel the mysterious labor of creation, producing something of whose paternity he is proud, but concerning whose processes of birth he has a becoming reticence. With Cox you observe the showy and astounding multitude of facile manufacture, all produced under his personal superintendence.

The acceptance speech events in Marion and in Dayton reflected the natures of the two men and the respective community feelings developed by them. Those who faced Harding became imbued with a dominant idea which was practically religious; they felt an atmosphere of consecration, and forgot that it was a holiday or a rejoicing; those who came to scoff remained to pray. In Dayton, on the other hand, the crowd became increasingly elated with the sense of a splendid spectacle and of a race beginning at full speed; doubting opponents became increasingly fearful of dynamic forces startlingly at work.

In Dayton one may see the handiwork of the political artisan; in Marion that of the political artist.

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WHAT'S THE MATTER WITH THE EASTERN FARMER?

THE AGRICULTURAL REVOLUTION

BY J. MADISON GATHANY

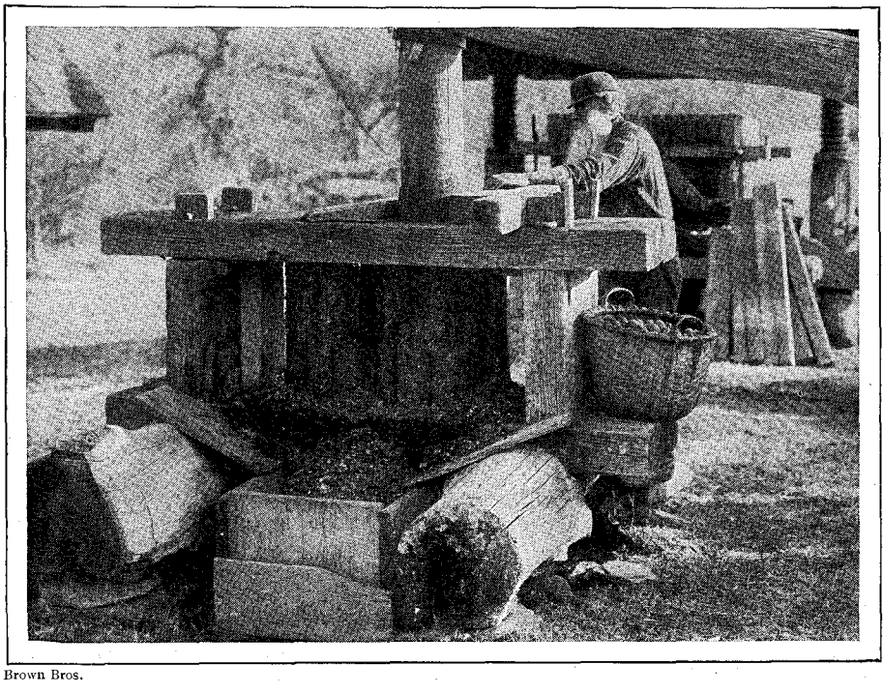
AS I read the accounts of strikes and the shutting down of mills and factories because the market conditions do not please their owners, I tremble at the consequences if our farmers should go on a strike. Yet they have more real cause for striking than all the rest of us put together. When the possibility of an agricultural strike is mentioned, wage-earners and industrial leaders smile calmly, because they think farmers are not in position to strike and are not organized as capital and labor are organized. But the farmers are stronger in this respect than most people realize.

American agriculture is passing from the stage of personal adventure to an industry based upon modern scientific principles and engaged in for profit. The agricultural revolution now going on in America will be in its social, economic, and political significance second only to the great industrial revolution which began in England at the close of the eighteenth century and inaugurated our present economic life.

In pioneer times the farmer's life was simple and there was but little need for money. Farmers exchanged or "swapped" work instead of "hiring" help. The women carded and spun the wool and made the clothing. Grain was sown by hand, cut with the ancient sickle, and threshed with the flail. Corn and wheat were taken to grist mills and the miller was paid with part of the "finished product." Farmers salted down their pork and exchanged their butter, eggs, potatoes, and apples for sugar, coffee, tea, and tobacco. There was no question of hours of labor. Work was done by hand and tools were simple and inexpensive. Julius Cæsar, Charlemagne, and Luther would have felt at home in the social and economic order of the farmers up to the time of the Civil War. Those were happy and bounteous days for the American farmer.

But with the introduction of steam and new machinery new problems arose. Were it not for the steamboat, railways, telegraph, telephone, etc., America would be to-day what Thomas Jefferson so ardently prayed that it would remain—a nation of tillers of the soil; there would be no exodus of laborers from the farm. But the industrial revolution almost completely changed the daily life of the American people; changed their ways of thinking and living and working. It created divisions of labor and separated the workers from their tools. Because of it the wage system arose. The financial men organized themselves for efficient service; the industrial workers organized themselves for efficient protection.

But the farmers remained unorganized. The industrial revolution has in the last few years forced the farmer to view his occupation in an entirely different light. Economic and financial pressure has caused the farmer to conclude that farming must be placed upon a commercial basis, managed for profit instead of for a mere living. All of our 7,000,000 farm owners and farm tenants have not yet come to this conclusion, but the idea is spreading like wildfire.



Brown Bros.

THE CIDER-PRESS OF ELDER DAYS HAD MORE ROMANCE THAN EFFICIENCY

7,000,000 VOICES OF PROTEST

One farmer put this idea to me in these words: "The industrial and commercial men of the United States have revealed to us farmers the fundamental reasons why agriculture has been losing out in competition with other industries. First, scientific methods have not been applied to farming as much as to other industries. Second, agriculture has not benefited by efficient organization as have other industries; it has had no purchasing, sales, and advertising agencies. Third, farming has not had as ready access to credit facilities as other businesses have; this is a serious handicap. Millions of forward-looking farmers have concluded that farming can no more succeed on such a basis than any other complicated business. They propose from now on that agriculture should be managed on a strictly modern, scientific business basis that takes into consideration the cost of production and a reasonable profit.

"Farmers believe that they have been taken advantage of long enough. Until just recently they have had no effective machinery through which they could express the opinion of 7,000,000 men. Within the last three or four years, but particularly within the last eighteen months, the cotton, fruit, grain, and vegetable growers, the sheep, cattle, poultry, milk, butter, and cheese producers, have done an amazing piece of organizing. You will find hundreds upon hundreds of farm county bureaus, a host of county agents, and National farm organizations by the dozens. Recently the American Farm Bureau Federation, 'the National voice for agriculture,' was organized. Although this Federation is only about seven months old, it already has a membership of over 1,000,000 farmers. The fee for joining it is fifty cents, which means that this farmer organization starts out with funds of nearly $500,000. For the first time the American farmer is equipping his representatives with adequate funds. The Executive Committee of the American Farm Bureau Federation has mapped out a vigorous programme. It is establishing bureaus of statistics and research, transportation, and education.

"We have raised a considerable portion of a $1,250,000 fund for the erection of the Temple of Agriculture at Washington, D. C. If Congressmen will not come to us farmers, we farmers will go to Congressmen."

There are now more than ten thousand farmer organizations in the United States. The State of Maine alone has

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sixteen fruit growers' associations, all linked together in the Maine Fruit Growers' Exchange. Maine also has the Aroostook Federation of Farmers, interested in the growing of potatoes, with a capitalization of $100,000, the Maine Sweet Corn Growers' Association, and the Farmers' Union Grain and Supply Company.

Connecticut has at least eight county farm bureaus, three milk marketing organizations, two apple growers' associations, five local vegetable growers' associations, the Connecticut Dairymen's Association, a Pomological Society, a beekeepers' association, a sheep breeders' association, a State Federation of Farm Bureaus, and a State Grange.

I asked a New Jersey farmer what the objects of the co-operative agricultural movement were.

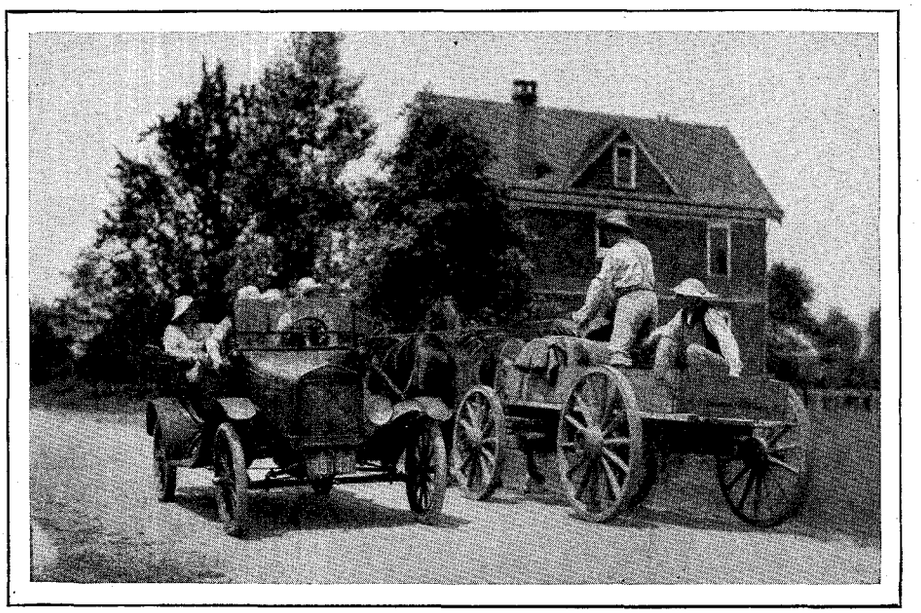
"Our main object is to rehabilitate farming by making it pay," he said. "And there is no other way under heaven to rehabilitate it. As a *temporary* matter credit by banks and business men will help, but such credit as a permanent arrangement would be vicious, because artificial credit—the loaning of money by banks and business men to farmers to help them out until the harvest season—is dead wrong in principle. Farming has got to be made to pay and to stand on its own feet. We believe with James J. Hill that the helplessness of the American farmer was discreditable and caused enormous money loss, and that the profits of the middlemen were for the most part economic waste. We stand now for co-operative buying and co-operative marketing, and it is thinkable that the future will see co-operative production on a regional basis.

"The standardizing and grading of farm products is one of our greatest needs. Both merchants and customers know what they are purchasing when they buy standardized goods, and those who produce such goods are entitled to better prices than those who do not. The farmer is the principal loser in putting out ungraded goods on the market. Placing second and third grade goods in the same crate or barrel with first grade means that the farmer will receive in up-to-date markets less than the best price. The customer is entitled to know also what he is paying for.

"Food production is greatly lessened because farmers do not realize the value of testing seed. The public is entitled to demand that the inefficient farmer either change his methods or get out of farming. The new farm movements stand for the grading, testing, and working out of a uniform National nomenclature of seeds.

THE FARMER AND THE LAW

"We also propose that from now on agriculture 'sit in' when it comes to legislation. The farmers are not Bolsheviki. They do not propose to coerce lawmakers, but they do propose that farmers get a square deal, and have their pro rata share in shaping legislation, both State and National."



"THEY PROPOSE THAT AGRICULTURE SHALL BE MANAGED ON A STRICTLY MODERN SCIENTIFIC BUSINESS BASIS"

I asked a farmer in the vicinity of Boston if he would explain to me the difference between the old system of marketing farm products and the new.

"According to the old system," said he, "the distributing of agricultural foodstuffs is managed absolutely by dealers who stand *between* the producer and the consumer, and they operate this business for profit and for nothing else. They consider that the only business of the farmer is to produce and hand over his products to them to sell at a price set by themselves. The dealers return to the producer what his products bring *after* they take out the cost of handling, storing, and shipping, and such profits as they see fit to credit to themselves.

"The purpose of the middlemen was recently stated by the president of one of New England's largest corporations, when he testified as a Government witness that he was a merchant in milk, and that as such he demanded the chance to buy milk as cheap as possible and sell it as dear as possible. By the old system the consumer is treated just as mercilessly as the producer.

"Under the new system the farmers themselves organize business exchanges to market products for the farmer direct to the retailer, and, in many instances, direct to consumer exchanges, without the intervention of middlemen. These exchanges sell and buy for the farmers. They purchase fertilizer, grain, tools, etc., direct from the manufacturers at wholesale prices. Special salesmen and expert buyers, in charge of these exchanges, receive a salary and are not allowed to sell on commission. Thus the farmer has absolute say as to the price his goods shall be sold at. The exchanges are not run for profit. Hundreds of these exchanges are already in successful operation."

This description sounded mighty nice to me, but I suspected that perhaps it might be ninety-nine per cent theory and one per cent fact. I asked a small farmer what he thought of the exchange system. What he told me was virtually repeated dozens of times by others.

DEALERS FIGHT FARMERS' EXCHANGES

"One reason why I am heart and soul for the farmer exchanges," said he, "is that the small farmer is treated exactly on the same basis as the big farmer. He can get a ton of fertilizer or a plow or anything else the exchange handles just exactly as cheap as the big farmer can; and for his produce, grade compared with grade, he gets just as much as the big farmer. No matter how much or how little business may be done through the exchange, the price is the same to all who belong to it. The fact that the middlemen are fighting the exchange so desperately is proof that the exchanges are friends of the farmer. In this section the dealers are attempting to discredit the exchanges with the bankers, the storekeepers, and even the farmers themselves.

"This spring I had to buy a plow. Each farm-implement dealer in town told me that the kind I wanted would cost $34. The farmers' exchange sold me the same make for $28. I also wanted a wheeled garden cultivator. The middlemen's price was $15.50. The exchange sold it to me for $11.20. My exchange saved me $1.35 on each bushel of seed potatoes I planted this spring and $4 a ton on fertilizer. Do you see why the dealers don't like the farmers' exchanges, which are saving the farmers millions of dollars? Once in a while a big farmer, who buys enough at a time to get wholesale prices from the dealers, does not see the value of the exchange to him. The

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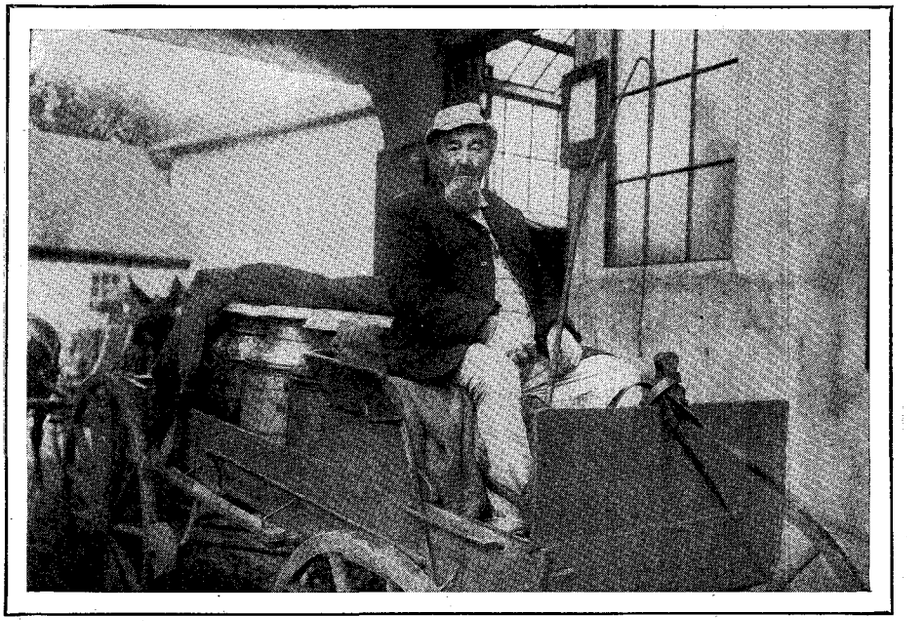

"PROBABLY THE MOST UNIVERSALLY USED, THE MOST INDISPENSABLE, AND THE MOST TALKED OF FARM PRODUCT IS MILK"

exchange buys in car-load lots from the manufacturers at wholesale prices. All that the exchange has to add to the manufacturer's price is the cost of selling the goods, or from two to ten per cent. Our exchange is running on a two per cent basis. No merchant can compete with it.

DOWN COMES COST TO CONSUMER

"The farmer takes his produce direct to his exchange. He receives a better price for his produce because the middlemen's profits are not deducted from the return. The consumer has to pay no more for his goods, for the retailer who buys the farmer's produce from the farmers' exchange instead of from the produce dealers charges the consumer the same price for goods bought of the dealers as for goods bought of the farmers. In fact, the consumer pays less because of the presence of the farmer exchange. If there were no exchange, the dealers would charge the retailers more than they do, and the retailers would be compelled to charge the consumers more. Also consumers can come right to the farmer exchanges and buy at the same price their storekeepers buy at from the exchanges, provided the exchanges do not have to break crates or boxes. If several consumers should band together and buy collectively of the farmers' exchanges, they could purchase their produce at exactly the same price the retailers pay.

"Purchasing containers (barrels, crates, and boxes) is one of the biggest problems in farming. The farmer frequently can't find boxes and barrels after he has spent time hunting for them. He can't buy in car-load lots because he can't afford to tie up so much money. After he gets his containers the farmer has to keep them in repair. This takes time and money and can't be done as cheaply individually as collectively. The exchange has relieved the farmer of all this worry and waste of time. It purchases the containers at wholesale prices and keeps them in repair. The exchange method permits the farmers to remain on the job of producing. One first-class salesman with an able assistant or two can sell all the produce that 200 or even 500 farmers can raise. If the whole country were thoroughly organized on the exchange principle and all the farmers were to back up the exchanges, the time saved by the 7,000,000 farmers in America would mean a tremendous increase in the production of foodstuffs for the public. It would benefit both producer and consumer if the producers did not attempt to produce and sell at the same time.

"The exchanges insist upon the grading of produce. The retailer and the consumer both should know exactly what they buy. Grading goods means better prices for the farmers. If an exchange buys a barrel of grade A potatoes, the farmer knows that the exchange will not pay him grade A price unless that barrel of potatoes runs grade A from bottom to top. Some farmers are still so foolish as to insist on the old method of 'topping' the barrels and crates. And some farmers have been known to leave the exchanges and damn them ever after because the exchanges have paid them only grade C prices for goods containing grade A top, grade B just beneath the top, and grade C for the bulk of the container. Each purchase the exchange makes from each farmer bears that farmer's number and bears a grade top, and the purchase retains its individuality all the way down to the consumer. Thus the responsibility for the quality and grade of produce can easily be traced. This protects both consumer and farmer."

The farmers in the ten North Atlantic States are working out plans for the establishment of an Eastern States Supply Company, a stock concern the purpose of which will be to buy, build, own, and operate mills, factories, and other business enterprises. Warehouses are to be constructed, feed and grain mills built, and cold-storage plants established.

A Maine farmer tells me that the farmers of his State have organized 130 local farmers' unions, and that in most cases these unions run a general store.

The new aggressive spirit among farmers is illustrated by such slogans as the following:

"The day when the farmer can be made a subject for a side-show is gone."

"It is wiser to co-operate and succeed than to go it alone and fail."

"United we milk, divided we don't."

THE STORY OF MILK

Probably the most universally used, the most indispensable, and the most talked of farm product is milk. This is why politicians make such a public football of milk. The merchant may raise the price of shoes a dollar a pair and clothes five or ten dollars a suit, and the public pays the bill and says little. The newspapers say less. But let the farmer or the dealer raise the price of milk one cent a quart, and every man and woman in the land at once sees the news in flaring headlines.

"The public ought to know what the milk situation here in the East has been and is," said a New York dairyman. "Despite the fact that the milk producers are now fairly well organized in the Northeast by means of the New England Milk Producers' Association and the New York Dairymen's League, those who are herdsmen are still reaping the bad results of the past. A milk organization may be formed in a few months, but it takes years to develop a first-class herd of milk cows.

"Our original dairymen not only owned their farms, cows, and milk cans, but also owned the milk route and had absolute control of the business from the pasture to the table. This condition prevailed until the time of our manufacturing age. Then large centers of population developed, the call for a larger and larger supply of milk became insistent, herds had to be increased, and an entirely new factor entered the milk business. Distributers bought the milk and established routes independent of the farmers. In time milk corporations supplanted the individual distributers. They placed themselves firmly *between* the milk producers and the consumers.

"Why did these concerns enter the milk business? Solely to make profit. They organized effectively. The producers of milk remained unorganized. From the time the milk corporations entered the field up to about 1917 they controlled the entire milk situation. Both producer and consumer became absolutely helpless in the grip of the great dealers, who

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dictated what price they would pay the farmer and also dictated the price the consumer had to pay. The milk producers had no access to the market except through a few highly organized corporations whose sole object was profit. Imagine the Standard Oil Company or the United States Steel Corporation conducting business as the milk producers were forced to conduct their business.

DAIRY FARMERS UNITE

"The question is not whether the public has had to pay too much for milk or whether the middlemen have made too much profit. The outstanding fact is that the farmer got so little for his milk that it did not pay him to keep cows, and he began to get out of the milk-producing business. Until recently the dairymen did not know why they were running behind, because they never kept a record of the cost of production. For the last ten years it has been costing the farmer more and more to produce milk than he received for it; but until about two years ago he had no way of getting more for his milk. During this time it cost the milk dealers more and more to handle their end of business. But they were in a position to recoup themselves in two ways. They not only did not pay the farmer the price he ought to have received for his milk, but they also charged the consumers more and more —an exceedingly hard and unfair position for both producer and consumer.

"After considerable agitation and preliminary work the milk producers organized selling and purchasing agencies of their own. The two great farmer milk agencies here in the East are the New England Milk Producers' Association and the New York Dairymen's League. Over 20,500 milk producers controlling over eighty per cent of the milk production of New England authorize the former of these two agencies, and over 84,000 men owning more than 900,000 cows authorize the latter, to sell their milk for them to milk corporations. To-day the dairymen of this part of the country who belong to these organizations have just as much to say as the corporations about the price they receive for their milk. The public knows much more about the abuse and the lies spread broadcast by the milk dealers and the interests against the farmers than it knows about the awful struggle the dairymen had in wresting the milk dealers from their autocratic price-making position, a struggle that was waged fully as much in the interest of the consumers as in the interest of the producers of milk. The milk producers have agreed to protect the consuming public as well as themselves against monopoly in the production and sale of milk.

"But the fight is still on. The milk corporations own almost all of the milk plants here in the East, including milk-shipping stations, butter and cheese factories, and places for the manufacture of condensed, powdered, and evaporized milk, and also the cans in which milk is shipped. The dairy farmers, however, have started to establish their own milk depots, butter and cheese factories, and plants for the manufacture of by-products. The dairymen of New England, New York, and Pennsylvania believe that both the production and the distribution of milk must be controlled by themselves before it will be possible to make the dairy business profitable to them, and to sell to the consumer at the price he is now paying for it, or less. If the corporations conclude not to sell these facilities to the dairy farmers, the farmers will set up a distribution system of their own. At any rate, the dairymen are not going to continue to produce milk at a loss much longer. They are going to go out of it altogether or go into it much further.

FARMERS ON QUI VIVE

"These plans are not mere dreams. The New England Milk Producers' Association has already started a farmer ownership movement, with the ultimate object of putting the whole machinery of the dairy industry into the hands of the producers. Just recently it purchased the Turner Center Association, with its more than two dozen large creameries, condenseries, and stores. This association does a business of over $6,000,000 annually. The New York Dairymen's League Co-operative Association controls twelve farmer-owned milk plants, and has thirteen campaigns on in thirteen widely separated sections of league territory for the purchase of existing plants or the construction of new ones, at an estimated cost of not less than $4,000,000, already largely subscribed. Requests for launching additional campaigns are being received faster than they can be handled."

The co-operative dairy league movement in New England, New York, and Pennsylvania has released the dairy farmer from an unjust and uneconomic system of marketing milk, which made him to all intents and purposes the serf of the dealer, and has enabled him to become an independent business man. It has turned dairying in the East from a diminishing to a growing business. It has made possible guarantees of an adequate supply of milk. It has promoted more scientific dairying, resulting in more and purer milk at less cost. It has brought about a better understanding of the food values of milk.

Farmers talk of the revolution in terms of the magnificent social and educational work of the State Grangers, of the experimental and scientific value of the many agricultural colleges, of the helpful and persistent efforts of farm journals in the interests of agriculture, and of the wide application of improved labor-saving machinery in the solution of the farm problem. But what I want to emphasize in this article above everything else is the change in the farmer's attitude toward farming as an industry.

Can anything be done to keep down the cost of eating?

In his next article, the third in the series, Mr. Gathany answers some questions about the relation of the pocketbook to the dinner table. Mr. Gathany was commissioned by The Outlook to make a trip through Eastern States to study farm questions. These articles are the result of his observations.

Something more about Mr. Gathany will be found in our Contributors' Gallery this week.

AN AMERICAN FARMER'S FAMILY THAT STILL STANDS BY ITS AGRICULTURAL GUNS INSTEAD OF DESERTING TO A CITY APARTMENT

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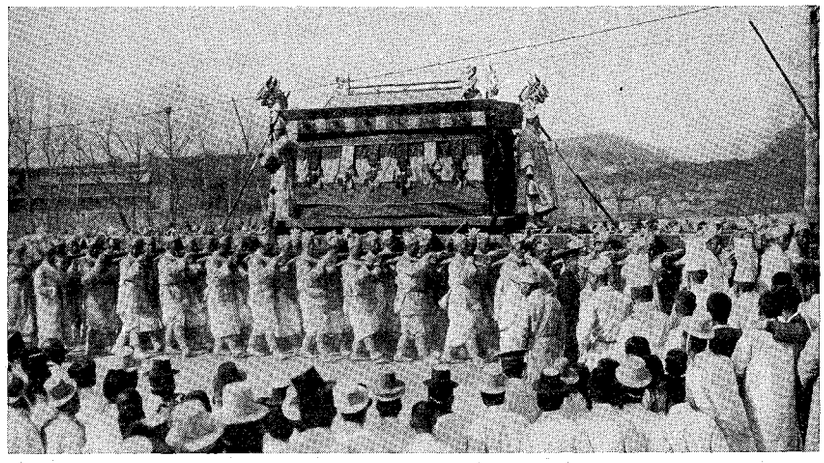
PICTURES FROM OUTLOOK READERS

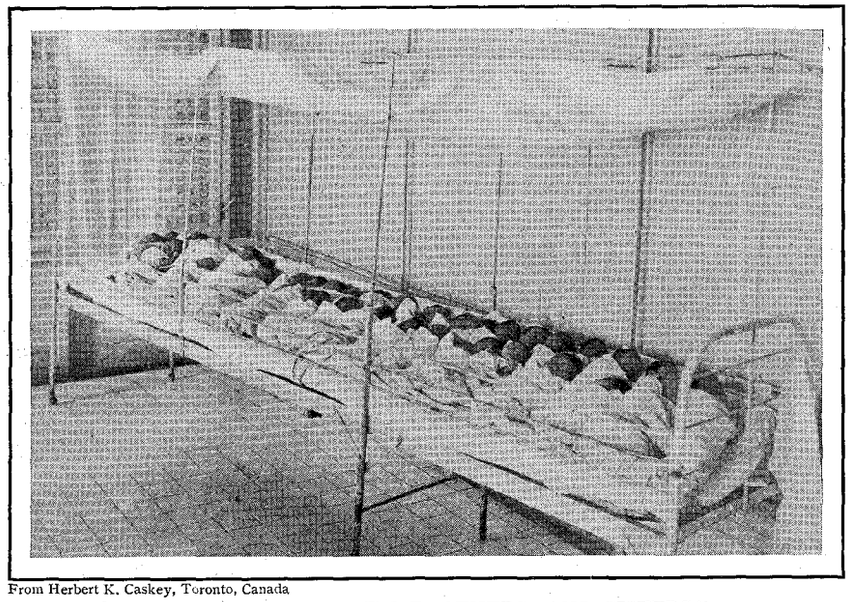
(See offer on page 173)



From K. Berry, Worcester, Mass.

THE FUNERAL PROCESSION OF THE LATE KING OF KOREA

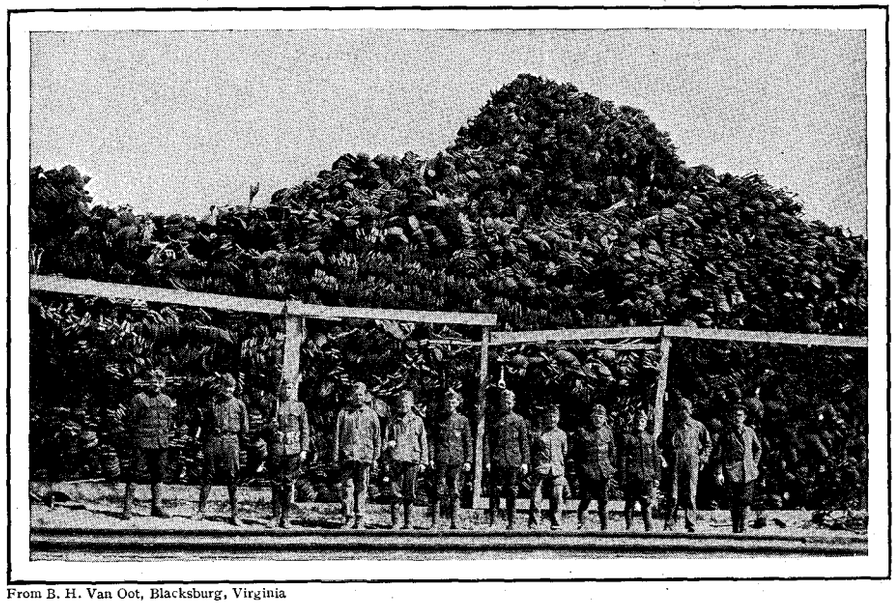
His death was a mystery. Although his title was taken away from him at the Japanese occupation and he held only the title of Prince, he was buried by the loyal Koreans with all kingly honors, for they believed he died for their country. It was at the occasion of his funeral, when thousands of Koreans were in Seoul, that the independence movement all over Korea was staged here, an unarmed protest against Japanese oppression. The bearers are clad in deep mourning of sackcloth and sackcloth caps. The small round hats in the foreground are the usual men's headdress



From Herbert K. Caskey, Toronto, Canada

"OUR LITTLE BROWN BROTHERS—AND SISTERS"

A corner in the Mary Johnston Hospital in Manila. The bed contains thirty-four very new babies, each one with its number on adhesive plaster on the sole of its foot and with tags on the bed and around the necks to indicate place and ownership. It is familiarly known as the "Bawl Room"



From B. H. Van Oot, Blacksburg, Virginia

LEFT BEHIND IN FRANCE

This picture is a sample of the amount of material America took to France. The picture was taken at Is-sur-Tille, France, an American supply camp, in January, 1919. It is not a mountain—only a pile of shovels, which, it is understood, were "turned over" to the French

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THE BOOK TABLE: DEVOTED TO BOOKS AND THEIR MAKERS

THE STORY OF OPAL[1]

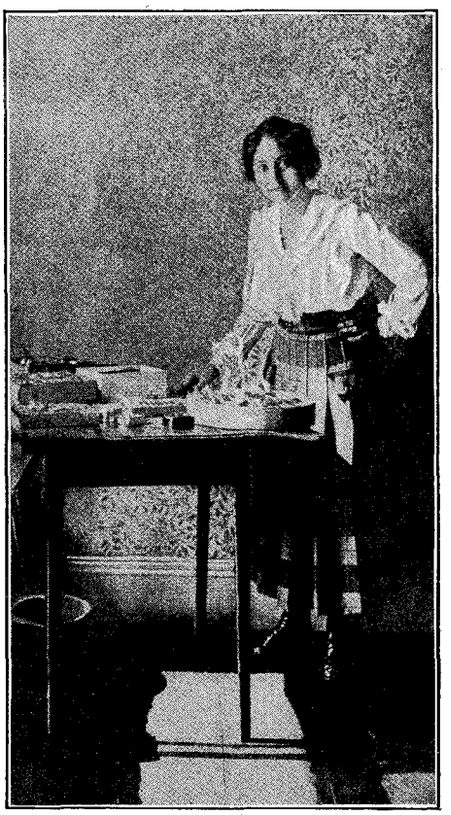
THERE are several reasons why this diary of a little girl has excited curiosity and interest as it has appeared in the pages of the "Atlantic Monthly." If ever the word unique is appropriate to a literary production, certainly it is here. Among the things which make it so are the as yet unexplained mystery of part of the child's early life—her knowledge of historical and literary persons in ancient and modern times whose very names are unknown to most children, her quaint and peculiar style, and the singular way in which the diary was written, later torn into bits by an angry playmate, kept for many years in an old box, and finally pieced together with infinite pains by the author and the editors and given in part to the public.

Most of all, however, the true interest of Opal's story lies in the impression it gives of an imaginative, lonely child with a deep love of nature. This is well expressed by the sub-title of the book—"The Journal of an Understanding Heart." The reader sometimes tires of the singular manner and strange expressions in the diary, but he never fails to feel the genuine fineness and charm of Opal's love for animals and trees and all of out-of-doors, and her sweetness and affection toward the few human beings who responded to her appeal. How far she carried her childish impersonation of living things is seen in the fact that we have in the book not only animals—the pig, Peter Paul Rubens, the dogs, Brave Horatius and Isaiah (a plain dog), Plato and Pliny the bats, William Makepeace Thackeray (a little bird that was hurt), William Shakespeare (an old gray horse with an understanding soul), and, perhaps the most remarkable of Opal's animal friends, Thomas Chatterton Jupiter Zeus (a most dear, velvety wood-rat); but we have also some half-dozen or more trees named after Hugh Capet, Theodore Roosevelt, Keats, Good King Edward I, and so on. In fact, the list of "Characters in the Narrative" furnished by the editor occupies four pages, and the samples given are by no means the most remarkable that might be chosen.

It might seem impossible that a young child should have all these dozens of names from history and literature at her tongue's end, or that she should write such a passage as this:

> That baby calf I have named Mathilde Plantagenet. I have named her so for Mathilde that was daughter of Roi Henri I and Mathilde that was daughter of Sainte Marguerite that was reine d'Ecosse. Mathilde Plantagenet is her name because the name of the man Mathilde did marry, it was Geoffroi Plantagenet. And too in days of summer the *genet fleur* grows near unto here. I have had seeings of them by waters that flow by the mill town. And when their bloom time is come, I will make for Mathilde Plantagenet a guirlande of *les fleurs de genet*. And we will go walking down the lane.

The explanation is found in the story of Opal's life as it is told by Mr. Ellery Sedgwick, the editor of the "Atlantic Monthly," in a preface. It seems that Miss Whiteley, now about twenty-one or twenty-two years old, came to the editor's office with the manuscript of a nature book. It was not available for publication, but the editor, struck by Miss Whiteley's love and knowledge of nature, asked her if she had kept a diary. Then came out the strange report. Briefly stated, the diary was begun when Opal was about six years old. It covered many years and comprised a quarter of a million words; about seventy thousand words (all contained in this volume) were written in Opal's sixth and seventh years. It was composed originally in the lumber camp in Oregon where Opal



Photograph by Bachrach

OPAL WHITELEY RECONSTRUCTING HER DIARY

was left as a child, on scraps of paper of all shades, sorts, and sizes, backs of envelopes, wrapping paper—anything Opal could get hold of. A foster-sister found the hidden diary and tore the scraps into little pieces. Fortunately, Opal loved her diary so much that she kept the pieces. Mr. Sedgwick tells us that the diarist worked for nine months in his office piecing the bits together, each page forming a sort of picture puzzle. Punctuation has been supplied and spelling amended except occasionally where the misspelling added to the knowledge of characters.

The mystery of Opal's early life may never be solved. It is certain that she lost her parents before she was five years old. Evidently one, or both, were partly French, and were interested in education, history, and nature. The child had two copy-books with their photographs, and with notes about things they wanted their child to learn as to people, books, history, and legend. It was from copy-books that Opal took her extraordinary names for animals and things. She says that the books were taken away from her when she was about twelve years old, but thinks they may still be in existence. The frequent use of French and some of her oddities of style are explained by the retention in mind of her parents' talk by a remarkably precocious child. Opal says that she did not know that the French phrases she used were French, and did not study French in her childhood. Just what happened between the death of Opal's parents and her appearance in an Oregon lumber camp as the foster child of Mrs. Whiteley, the wife of a lumberman, who named the child after her dead daughter Opal, may never be known. Certainly no clear theory or statement is now available. Her later education was obtained by her own hard work and under privations and disappointments.

There is a good deal to be said for Mr. Sedgwick's summing up: "The authorship does not matter, nor the life from which it came. There the book is. Nothing else is like it, nor apt to be. If there is alchemy in nature, it is in children's hearts the unspoiled treasure lies, and for that room of the treasure-house the story of Opal offers a tiny golden key."

It was inevitable that skepticism should be expressed as to this extraordinary personal narrative. We judge that some of the skeptics have not read carefully Mr. Sedgwick's preface. We advise all interested to do so both in fairness to Opal and because it is an intensely interesting human document. It is absolutely beyond doubt that the "Atlantic Monthly" has not only acted in the fullest good faith to its readers and the public, but that it has taken assiduous pains and minute care and labor to present the facts in the case as they are.

[1] The Story of Opal. By Opal Whiteley. The Atlantic Monthly Press, Boston.

THE NEW BOOKS

FICTION

Adventurous Lady (The). By J. C. Snaith. D. Appleton & Co., New York.

Announced as "a sparkling social comedy," this story leaves one with the feeling that sparkling is precisely what it is not. The tale is mildly amusing, but it is a pity that the author of "The Sailor" should think it worth while to write such a trifling farce.

Americans All. Short Stories Collected by B. A. Heydrich. Harcourt, Brace & Howe, New York.

The increasing number of volumes of collected short stories indicates, we think, that a great many people recognize the special pleasure that can be had by keeping such a volume in the home library and taking it up from time to time to furnish special enjoyment for a spare half-hour. Few would care to read such a volume as this from beginning to end, but it is an unusually excellent anthology of American short tales. And it may be particularly noted that, while it includes famous and familiar stories, it also includes others which are not so familiar, but which are worthy of preservation. It has the distinction also of a characteristic Introduction by the late William Dean Howells.

Black Knight (The). By Mrs. Alfred Sidgwick and Crosbie Garstin. Henry Holt & Co., New York.

When two writers collaborate in a novel, it is often a puzzle to know how the work

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is divided. In this case we are told that Mrs. Sidgwick furnishes the feminine and love element and Mr. Garstin the rough-and-ready picture of Western camp life. Mr. Garstin's life has abounded in adventure and unusual experiences, as is stated in a really interesting note from the publisher. Life on the great wheat ranch, in lumber camps, and in other more conventional scenes is described with vigor, knowledge, and a certain robust sense of fun. The book holds the attention firmly.

Egan. By Holworthy Hall. Dodd, Mead & Co., New York.

With one exception, we believe, this is the first serious attempt at a novel (as distinguished from a number of short stories on one general topic connected by a slight thread) which this author has attempted. His short stories have had a deservedly wide reading because they have humor and deal lightly and pleasantly with modern society and modern sport. The present story is worthy of praise also, especially for the consistency and humanness of young Egan, a returned officer eager to make good in business life, who finds that while he has been away his business future and his love affairs have both gone to smash. Young Egan is bumptious, obstinate, but vigorous and full of energy and determination. He has a big scheme to introduce aircraft into commercial business. Perhaps the financial and business sides of the book are a little too much to the front, but, as a whole, the novel keeps the reader's attention on the alert, and it includes some exceedingly good character depiction.

Gateless Barrier (The). By Lucas Malet. Dodd, Mead & Co., New York.

This story by "Lucas Malet" (Mrs. Harrison) has attained the honor of a new edition, undoubtedly because of the present interest in psychic mattters. Twenty years ago (that is, in the issue of The Outlook for September 22, 1900) we reviewed this story as follows: "The heroine is a ghost, inhabiting a luxurious apartment in the country house of an English gentleman. The hero is heir to the estate—an American, married, and blasé. He forms a pleasant friendship with the ghost, who takes him for his own grandfather, to whom she was affianced before the battle of Trafalgar, where the grandfather was killed. The reader finds his sense of chronology rather violently strained, but he enjoys the literary quality of the book, and finds several of the characters interesting."

New Robinson Crusoe (A). By Gilson Gardner. Harcourt, Brace & Howe, New York.

We leave the reader to decide whether he is to take literally the sober statement of the preface that this version of "Robinson Crusoe" is from an original text written by Defoe and Alexander Selkirk, the prototype of Robinson Crusoe. It seems that after Selkirk returned from his adventures, and before the book as we know it was written, Defoe and Selkirk collaborated in a manuscript which in part follows the lines of the book we know and in part deals with the principles of political and social economy suggested by Robinson's island life. This manuscript came down to our time through descendants of Selkirk. It was discarded by the joint authors (so it is declared) because the doctrines suggested were thought to be dangerous politically. If all this is a literary hoax, it is a clever one. At any rate, the "New Robinson Crusoe" is interesting as an economic tract. It has in it the seeds of mild Socialism.

BIOGRAPHY

Life of Benjamin Disraeli, Earl of Beaconsfield (The). By George Earle Buckle, in Succession to W. F. Monypenny. Vol. V—1868–1876; Vol. VI—1876–1881. The Macmillan Company, New York.

These two volumes complete the fascinating biography of Disraeli which Mr. W. F. Monypenny did not live to complete. Disraeli was one of England's great statesmen, and perhaps her greatest politician. He had a mind at once acute and alert, but more keen to see present conditions and immediate expediences than powerful to grasp great principles. Mystery, as Mr. Monypenny says, was of the essence of the man, yet he proceeds to throw some light upon that mystery by describing Disraeli as possessing at once a strong will and a vital imagination. He would have been a famous novelist if his political fame had not dimmed his fame as an author. The time included in these two volumes, 1868–81, covers a critical period in English development in which he took so large a part as a political leader. This biography, too large for most American readers, will nevertheless be a necessity in every library, public or private, which aims to possess in completeness any dealing with the history of Europe during the nineteenth century.

Theodore Roosevelt. By Edmund Lester Pearson. Illustrated. The Macmillan Company, New York.

Mr. Pearson, who is not only an essayist but a writer of capital boys' stories, such as "The Voyage of the Hoppergrass," has taken pains to give boys in this book a clear view of Theodore Roosevelt's character as well as of his personality. He has made excellent use of the new material about Mr. Roosevelt which has been available since his death, and has brought out with skill and judgment the simplicity and singleness of Mr. Roosevelt's Americanism. Both the private and public sides of Mr. Roosevelt's life are presented, and in good proportion and perspective, indeed quite remarkably so, considering the small size of this volume.

Tour Through Indiana in 1840 (A). (The Diary of John Parsons of Petersburg, Va.) Illustrated. Edited by Kate Milner Rabb. Robert M. McBride & Co., New York.

Apparently based upon a slender diary that has been skillfully expanded by the author, this book breathes the very spirit of the young West. It is a flowing and human story that takes one into the heart of the time it describes. The tender romance that developed as the result of young Parsons's journey is delicately told and holds the reader like a novel.

TRAVEL AND DESCRIPTION

Book of the Severn (A). By A. G. Bradley. Illustrated. Dodd, Mead & Co., New York.

The river Severn flows through charming, placid English and Welsh countryside, passing historic castles, beautiful landscapes, and scenes of romance and battle of long ago. The author tells the story in ample detail and with full knowledge. The sixteen illustrations in color by R. H. Buxton reproduce pleasantly the native charm of the Severn and its banks.

Cape Cod and the Old Colony. By Albert Perry Brigham. Illustrations. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.

Professor Brigham has made a real contribution to what seemed in danger of becoming an overwritten subject. The physical constitution of the famous Cape is described interestingly and at length and tied with literary skill and abundant knowledge to the human elements that have come to its development and that are to mold its future.

Old New England Houses. By Albert G. Robinson. Illustrated. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.

Readers who could ask for more pages either of text or illustration than are given in this beautiful book may fairly be open to the charge of avarice, but many will probably confess their guilt. The pleasant descriptive matter seems all too short; the generous amount of space given to plates whets the appetite for more. This will make an admirable gift book both to book lovers and admirers of Colonial houses.

WAR BOOKS

United States in the World War (The). By John Bach McMaster. D. Appleton & Co., New York.

This second volume of Professor McMaster's work covers the whole period of the fighting of the American troops in France, and concludes the history, the first volume having told the narrative from the date of our entering the World War up to April, 1918. As a rule Professor McMaster writes history, not argument, and his book is not given to vaingloriousness or boasting. The treatment of the Peace Conference, the signing of the Treaty in Paris, and its rejection by the United States, is full. The various appendices are valuable.

Wings of War. By Theodore Macfarlane Knappen. Introduction by Rear-Admiral D. W. Taylor. Illustrated. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.

A history of America's contribution to aircraft production during the World War. The author thinks that, on the whole, our aircraft achievements deserve to rank with any of those of our "second line of defense." His book, in its account of our attempt to create a great fighting force out of inexperience and confusion, conveys a stinging lesson for the future.

MISCELLANEOUS

Post Mortem Opinions. By Theodore Roosevelt. The American Metaphysical Association, Sioux City, Iowa.

Despite the shortage in white paper, the American Metaphysical Association, of Sioux City, Iowa, has published this volume of "Post Mortem Opinions of Theodore Roosevelt." Of the authenticity of this volume the publishers say "the large number of subjects dealt with and the unique manner in which they are handled is the best proof." We are inclined to add the words "of the credulity of mankind." As an example of the character of this volume we may quote Theodore Roosevelt's present opinion of President Wilson:

> No more honest or higher principled man ever sat in the Presidential chair than he who occupies it now. He is a great student, and as such is not given to voicing his opinions or airing his plans to the public eye until he is ready for their consummation, and it is this trait, while commendable in many ways, that causes people of America more used to airing their opinions to misunderstand him and his motives. But, on the other hand, they are beginning to see his true worth.

We are reminded very vividly of the woman who was shown a spirit photograph of her late husband. "Well, well," she said, "how George has changed!"

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